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GEORGE HOWE

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The Origin of the Historical Present in English..... 1
J. M. STEADMAN, JR.

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Studies in Philology

VOLUME XIV JANUARY, 1917 NUMBER 1

THE ORIGIN OF THE HISTORICAL PRESENT IN ENGLISH

BY J. M. STEADMAN, JR.

The historical present in English has received little careful study. The statements made in the various historical grammars are general and, at times, extremely vague. The purpose of this investigation is to supplement these vague statements by studying a representative body of Old and Middle English texts and by collecting a sufficiently large number of facts from which it may be possible to draw safe conclusions regarding the origin of this use of the present.

My plan is to present first, briefly, the various opinions that have been expressed regarding the reason for the appearance of the historical present in English, so that the reader may have these theories in mind as he examines the facts; next, I shall present a considerable body of the available facts regarding the appearance and the early development of the historical present in English. Finally, I shall devote the second section of the paper to a full discussion of the theories which have been advanced to explain the origin of the historical present in English and also in the other Germanic languages, especially in O. H. G. and M. H. G., where the subject has been studied in much greater detail than in English.

I

A. THE THEORIES FOR GERMAN

Grimm,[1] IV, 140 ff. According to Grimm, the historical present with a single exception,[2] does not occur in M. H. G. poetry. Its later extensive use is due to the influence of classical and other foreign languages.

Erdmann §140. The historical present was not used in the older Germanic speech. Since the present was commonly used to express future time, the use of the same form to express past time (*i. e.*, as a historical present) would have caused confusion.

[1] Full titles are given in the bibliography.

[2] Otfrid, III, 26.

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Wunderlich, I, 158. Wunderlich classifies those presents which most closely resemble the historical present. He disputes Grimm's statement that the historical present is foreign to early German. He believes that the historical present arose from those uses of the present which most closely resembled the historical present.

Behaghel, 199 ff. Behaghel disputes the statement that the historical present could have arisen only after a special form for the future had developed, and had left the present form of the verb free to take on a past meaning. He supports his contention by pointing out that in German the present is still used for the future, and for the historical present, and that those Slavic languages which have no characteristic future form use the historical present. He furthermore rejects the theory of foreign influence. Behaghel advances an entirely new and original theory. He thinks that the historical present arose only after the Germanic distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs began to weaken. To avoid repetition I refer the reader to Section II, where Behaghel's theory is discussed in detail.

Wilmanns, III, 96, accepts Behaghel's theory.

B. The Theories for English

Maetzner, II, 68 ff., says that the historical present is completely foreign to Anglo-Saxon poetry, "which lacks the warmth which gives scope for the subjective view." He thinks that the historical present developed "out of popular poetry and not without the influence of Old French."

Sweet[2] believes that the use of the present for the future forbade the use of the historical present.

Brinkmann, II, 682-3, is of the same opinion as Sweet, but he holds that the historical present in Middle English is due to French influence.

Müller, p. 243, contents himself with the vague statement: "Das historisches praesens, welches für das präteritum steht, ist dem Angelsächsischen ziemlich (?) fremd."

Jespersen, *Tid og Tempus*, 385 ff., disputes the theory of French influence. He believes that the historical present existed in Old English, but only in the colloquial speech: it was not permissible in dignified, formal, standard literature. The absence of the historical

[2] Philological Society *Proceedings*, 1885-7, p. xlv.

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present in Old English is therefore explained by the absence of popular Old English remains. He further maintains that the historical present in Middle English is to be found most frequently in the popular literature.

The summary given above shows that six[4] distinct theories have been advanced to account for the origin of the historical present:

1. The historical present did not occur in Old English because the Old English poets lacked the vivid imagination necessary to the use of this tense. (Maetzner).

2. The historical present developed naturally and logically from presents closely related to it (Wunderlich).

3. The historical present is a borrowing from Old French (Grimm, Maetzner, Brinkmann, Einenkel).

4. The historical present is colloquial in origin (Maetzner and Jespersen).

5. The origin of the historical present is bound up with the origin of the periphrastic future. Germanic had no characteristic future form. The present, therefore, had to serve a triple function: it might express general truths, present actions, and future actions. The use of this form to indicate past events would have caused ambiguity and confusion, for it would have crowded too many meanings upon one form (Grimm).

6. The origin of the historical present is bound up with *Aktionsart* in Germanic (Behaghel, Wilmanns).

C. The Historical Present in Old English

A reading of a large number[5] of Old English documents has convinced me that the historical present does not occur in Old English. There are a number of uses of the present tense, however, which might be confused with the historical present. It will be well to point out these classes of presents in advance. I shall quote from Old English wherever it is possible.

1. The present used in citations of authority refers to an act which is really past, but which is expressed as present since it is true for the present as well as for the past. For example,

> David the salmwrihte
> *speketh* in the sauter. *Hali Meidenhad*, (1-2).

[4] The first theory listed is really a theory to account for the absence of the historical present in Old English, but for convenience I class it with the theories of the origin of this use of the present.

[5] For a complete list of the works read see the bibliography.

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2. The present of general truth (gnomic present) is really timeless. The present form of the verb lays no stress on the tense; it merely gives the verbal idea. This use of the present is common in all languages.[6] There are numerous examples in Old English. For example,

> Ic to soþe wat
> þæt bið in eorle indryhten þeaw,
> þæt he his ferðlocan faeste *binde*. *Wanderer*, (11-12.)

3. The present is often used in describing actions which began in past time, but which have not been completed at the time the speaker surveys the action. The action may continue into the present with no suggestion as to its completion, or the action may have begun in past time, extend through the present, and down into the future. The Latin present with *jam* or *jam dudum*, the French present with *depuis*, the German present with *jetzt*, *schon*, or *schon jetzt* illustrate this use. Modern English usually employs a present perfect progressive form: *e. g.*, "He has been living here for many years." Cf. the following:

> þat folc gan to spelien
> Irlondes speche
> And aver seoððen þa laȝen
> *wunieð* a þan londe.[7] Layamon's *Brut*, (10070-73.)

> The Lady of Synadowne
> Longe *lyght* yn prisoun,[7]
> And that ys greet dolour. *Lybeaus Disconus*, (1445-47.)

4. The present of reflection (Grimm's "reflectierendes Praesens") often occurs in subordinate clauses after verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, seeing, and the like. In such subordinate clauses the tense of the direct statement is used in the indirect; *i. e.*, the direct statement has influenced the indirect so strongly as to cause a violation of the normal sequence of tenses. Cf. modern colloquial English, "I told him to come as soon as he *can*," and, "He told me that he *is* tired."[8]

[6] Dr. J. F. Royster has pointed out to me that there is a distinction between the expression of a general truth and that of a general untruth. Cf.: "He was convinced that it *is* true," (the statement was true at the time he was convinced and is still true), and, "Homer believed that the world *was* flat." (The statement of a fact that was true for past time, but not for the present.)

[7] *I. e.*, have been dwelling; has been lying.

[8] These sentences were taken from recent conversations. For examples in Old English see the quotations from *Beowulf*, pp. 7-9.

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5. Occasionally in Old English, and very often in Middle English, one finds the present tense used among a series of preterites to give the opinion of the author. The narrative is halted for a time, and the author's comment on the story is inserted.

> Ore loverd helpe nouthe seint thomas for othur frend nath he non
> Among so manie tyraunz for to come that weren alle is fon.
> *Legendary*, (p. 128, ll. 749-750.)[9]

These presents should be carefully differentiated from the historical present; in all of them there is an element of real present time. The historical present, on the other hand, is a real preterit tense. In meaning it is the exact equivalent of a past tense. The action is looked upon as beginning and ending in the time sphere of the past.

I shall arrange the citations of doubtful presents from the Old English documents in approximate chronological order and shall discuss each quotation as it is given. I shall discuss only those passages which have been or might be wrongly regarded as historical presents.

> Cende cneowsibbe cenra manna
> heahfaedera sum, halige þeode,
> israela cyn, onriht godes,
> Swa þaet orþancum ealde *recca*ð
> þa þe maegburge maest gefrunon. *Exodus*, (356-359.)

This present is a present of citation.

> þanon israhelum ece raedas
> on merehwearfe moyse saegde,
> heahthungen wer, halige spraece,
> deop aerende, daegweorc *nemna*ð,
> swa gyt wertheode on gewritum findaþ
> doma gehwilcne, þara þe him drihten bebead
> on þam siþfate soþum wordum. *Exodus*, (1512-18.)

Blackburn's note to line 1515 reads: "A very mysterious expression. The following three verses refer to the legislation of Moses, and scholars have defined *daegweorc* here as the decalogue. Perhaps the poet intends to represent Moses as giving out his laws at this stage of their journey and elaborating and writing them down later, but the original represents Moses as uttering only a hymn of praise." I am unable to add anything to Blackburn's discussion of this passage. In any event it is impossible to see how this can be interpreted as a clear case of the historical present.

[9] Cf. also 134: 960; 153: 1621.

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Ic adreah feala
yrmþa over eorðan. Wolde ic eow on þon
þurh bliþne hiȝe bysne onstellan,
swa on ellþeode ywed *wyrðeð*. *Andreas*, (970-972.)

Christ is speaking words of encouragement to Andreas. The form *wyrðeð* may be regarded as a historical present or as a future. The context favors the use of the future. Krapp translates: "I wished therein with kindly intent to give you an example according as it shall be shown in this foreign land."

Ne þearft swa þu swiþe synna gemyndig
sar niwigan ond saece raeran
morðres manfrea, þaet se mihtiga cyning[10]
in neolnesse nyðer *bescufeð*
synwyrcende in susla grund
domes leasne, se-þe deadra feala
worde awehte. *Elene*, (940-946.)

The use of a present form here is puzzling. Shall we translate, "because the almighty king has cast thee down," "will cast thee down," or "casts thee down"? Judas is speaking to the devil who has come to tempt him. *þaet* may mean "so that," and *scufeð* may be regarded as a future. Kennedy[11] translates "hath cast thee down." The verb appears in a subordinate clause. In such clauses the logical sequence of tenses is often violated. I regard this present as an example of such a violation of the sequence of tenses.

God ana wat
hu he þaet scyldi werud forscrifen haefde.
Cleopað þonne se alda ut of helle,
wriceð wordcwedas weregan reorde,
eisegan stefne: "Hwaer com engla þrym,
þa þe we on heofonum habban sceoldan?
Christ and Satan, (32-54.)

Satan's speech runs to line 49. The devils answer him as follows:

þa him *andsweradan* atole gastes,
swarte and synfulle, susle begrorene, etc. *Ibid.*, (50-51.)

Cleopað and *wriceð* are the only clear cases of the historical present I have found in Old English. The preterit in line 50 shows clearly that the action of this passage is looked at as a past action. For this reason it would be impossible to regard *cleopað* and *wriceð* as present

[10] Holthausen accepts Zupitza's emendation of this line: morðres manfrea þaet þe se mihtiga cyning.

[11] *Poems of Cynewulf*, p. 116.

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forms with future meaning. The occurrence of these two isolated examples of the historical present does not affect the statement that the historical present as a linguistic phenomenon does not occur in Old English. Whenever this statement is made, the reader should bear in mind that these two examples are always excepted.

In *Beowulf* there are several presents which might be wrongly construed as historical presents. The easiest of these to dispose of is *langað* in line 1879.

> Waes him se man to þon leof
> þaet he þone breostwylm forberan ne mehte,
> ac him on hreþre hyʒe-bendum faest
> aefter deorum men dyrne *langað*. *Beowulf*, (1876-79.)

Nader[12] regards this form as a historical present. But *langað* is a noun and is so regarded by Grein, Sedgefield, Heyne-Schücking, and Wyatt-Chambers.

> Donne saegdon þaet sae-liþende,
> þa þe ʒif-sceattas ʒeata fyredon
> þyder to þance, þaet he þritiʒes
> manna maeʒen-craeft on his mund-ʒripe
> heaþe-rof *haebbe*. *Beowulf*, (377-381.)

Sedgefield's note to line 381 reads: "*Haebbe* is subjunctive of reported speech." This present occurs in a subordinate clause after a verb of saying. It is a clear case of the present of reflection.

> ʒold-faʒ scinon
> web aefter waʒum, wundor-siona fela
> secʒa ʒehwylcum, þara þe on swylc *starað*. *Beowulf*, (994-996.)

The present is used here because the action of *starian* is not confined to the time expressed by *sciðnon*. It denotes general or customary action.

> samod aer-daeʒe
> eode eorla sum, aeþele cempa
> self mid ʒesiþum, þaer se snotera bad,
> hwaeþre him Al-walda aefre *wille*
> aefter wea-spelle wyrpe ʒefremman. *Beowulf*, (1311-15.)

The present is used here in a subordinate clause after a verb of knowing implied after *bad*. It is a clear case of the present of reflection.

> Het þa up beran aeþelinga ʒestreon,
> fraetwe ond faet-ʒold. Naes him feor þanon
> to ʒesecanne sinces bryttan,

[12] *Anglia* X, 547.

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Hiȝelac Hrething, þaer aet ham *wunað*
selfa mid ȝesiþum sae-wealle neah. *Beowulf*, (1921-24.)

Trautmann and Holthausen follow Thorpe and Grein in emending *wunað* to *wunade*. Sievers[13] prefers the retention of *wunað*. He says: "Soll das praesens *wunað* beibehalten werden, so müssten wol die Worte von 'þaer' bis 'neah' als direkte rede gefasst werden, der durch v. 1921 (1920) angedeuteten aufforderung Beowulf's angehörig." But how are we to account for the intervening preterit *naes*? Siever's explanation will not account for the insertion of *naes* between *het* and the clause of direct discourse depending upon it. The verb occurs in a subordinate clause. We may regard it as a violation of the sequence of tenses rather than as a doubtful historical present. The use of a preterit here would have confined the statement strictly to the time sphere of the past. The use of the present indicates that the statement describes a situation which existed in past time and which still exists. The poet regarded the statement as still true at the time of writing. For other examples of the violation of the strict sequence of tenses see the preceding example and *Beowulf* 1928, where a present perfect is used where modern readers would expect a pluperfect. It is to be noted also that all of these passages are subordinate clauses.

In discussing the Ingeld episode, (*Beowulf*, 2064 ff.) Professor W. W. Lawrence says:[14] "The Beowulf-poet here violates the propriety of strict logic in making his hero outline the well-known story of Ingeld and Freawaru, which must be supposed to be subsequent to Beowulf's visit to Hrothgar." In a foot-note to page 580 he quotes Olric's discussion of the Ingeld story: "I must utter a warning," says Olric, "against the very common but very meaningless assertion that what Beowulf relates in the Danish royal court at this point is not a narrative of what has already happened, but a prophecy of future events." Professor Lawrence disputes Olric's statement. He says: "Moreover, there is, I think, no other long passage in the poem in which the historical present is used in relating past events, as Olric assumes to be the case here."

The statement can be made stronger by further evidence. There is no passage in this poem in which the historical present is used.

[13] P. B. *B.* IX. 141.
[14] *P. M. L. A.*, June, 1915.

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As stated before, I have found only one clear example of the historical present in the Old English documents I have read. If Olric is right, he will have to explain this unique series of historical presents, the only occurrence in Old English. Again, *bioð* in line 2063 is clearly a future. A study of *Beowulf* will show that the form *bið* is used to express futurity and the form *is* to express real present time. This distinction is very clearly made throughout the poem.

> þa ic on morȝne ȝefraeȝn maeȝ oþerne
> billes ecȝum on bonan staelan,
> þaer OnȝenþeOw Eofores *niosað*. *Beowulf*, (2484-86.)

Grein emends to *niosade*. Chambers has pointed out similar presents in this poem. I regard this as a clear example of the present of reflection, where the direct statement has influenced the indirect. It is very significant that most of these doubtful presents occur in subordinate clauses. Dr. T. A. Knott has suggested to me that the present here may be due to attraction of the infinitive in the preceeding line. Either of these explanations will satisfactorily account for the present tense.

> Naes him aenig þearf
> þaet he to ȝiftum, oþþe to ȝar-Denum,
> oþþe in Swio-rice, secean *thurfe*. *Beowulf*, (2493-96.)

Bugge[15] emends to *þorfte*. But this form is an optative in a subordinate clause. There is, therefore, no need for any emendation.

Sarrazin[16] makes the general statement that the historical present occurs in *Beowulf*. He gives no examples to support this statement, however, so until he has given further proof we may disregard his remarks.

> Ic *ondraede* me eac dom þone miclan
> for mandaedum minum on eorðan
> and þaet ece ic eac yrre *ondraede* me. *Be Domes Daege*, (15-17).

Höser[17] suggests that *ondraede* here may be regarded as an example of the historical present. He refers to Sievers' *Grammar* §393, where *ondraedde* is given as the weak form of the preterit of *draedan*, and asks if this form could not be a corruption of the preterit. He points out that this poem shows several changes of strong to weak inflection. Sweet[18] criticizes Lumby's translation[19] of the verb as "I trembled."

[15] Zacher's *Zeitschrift*, IV, 216.

[16] *Von Kaedmon bis Kynewulf*, Berlin, 1913; p. 87.

[17] *Die Syntaktischen Erscheinungen im Be Domes Daege*. Halle, 1899, p. 32.

[18] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*; 1877-79, p. 4.

[19] *E. E. T. S.*, 65.

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The implication is that Sweet also regards this form as a real present form. There is nothing in this form to cause any confusion. Bülbring[20] points out that after a long root-syllable a double consonant is often simplified, especially in late documents. There is nothing unusual, therefore, in finding the spelling *ondraede* for *ondraedde*, the weak preterit of the so-called reduplicating verb *draedan*.

I have found no examples of the historical present in the prose documents;[21] but there are several uses of the present which might be confused with it.

And heom wearð hyll gegearwod, and hi þaer *wunjað* on ecan forwyrde.[22]

The adjective *ece* shows that this present form expresses future action. The present form is used here to express an action that began in past time (when hell was prepared for the fallen angels), extends through the present, and continues into the future.

La, hwylc wunder bið, þeah se mennisca deofol synfullum mote heardlice derjan, þonne god geþafoð þaet he mot on his agenum halgum sylc wunder gewyrcan, þaet Enoh and Elias þurh þone þeodfeond gemartrode weorðað.[23]

The writer is describing the coming of Antichrist. The reference is to the well-known prophecy that Enoch and Elijah will be slain by Antichrist. If the context did not inform us of this, we might regard *weorðað* as a historical present, though, of course, it is clearly a future.

And sum wif hatte Venus, seo waes Joves dohtor, and seo waes swa ful and swo fracod on galnysse, þaet hyre agen broðor wið hy gehaemde, þaes þe man saede, þurh doefles lare; and þa yfelan *wurðjað* þa haeþenan eac for healice faemnan.[24]

Here *wurþjað* is a real present tense. It makes a statement which the writer believes to be true for the time of speaking.

On sunnandaeg waeron englas gesceapene. . . . On sunnandaeg laedde drihten his folc of Egyptum þurh þa readan sae drium fotum. On sunnandaeg *is* seo acennednes ures drihtnes haelendes Cristes.[25]

The presence of *is* in this series of preterites is somewhat striking. Does the writer mean to say, "Our Lord . . . was born on Sunday"? or "Sunday is the nativity of Our Lord"? An answer to this question will help us solve the difficulty in this passage. If the writer

[20] *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, p. 554.
[21] See the bibliography for a list of the prose works read.
[22] Wulfstan's *Homilies*, Ed. Napier, p. 8, l. 9.
[23] *Ibid.*, 85, 17-20.
[24] *Ibid.*, 107: 13-17.
[25] *Ibid.*, 230; 14-24.

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meant to say "was born," he used an unusual expression; "wearð gecenned" is the usual phrase. For examples see Grein, and Bosworth-Toller. *Acennednes* means "nativity"; *i. e.*, the church celebration of the Nativity. This is clearly the meaning here, a meaning which fits in well with the discussion of the sanctity and proper observance of the Sabbath. Dr. J. R. Hulbert has suggested to me that this expression is probably influenced by the way of looking at events in the church year. There was a regular formula for listing the various days in the church year. The following examples from the O. E. *Martyrology* will illustrate this formula.

On þonne þriddan daeg bið sancte Johannes tid, þaes godspelleres. Dec. 27.
On þonne feower ond twentegðan daeg þaes monðes bið se seofoða worolde daeg. March 24.

The Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* shows a few interesting examples of the Old and Middle English use of tenses.

And sona þaer aefter sende se cyng him ond se arceb of Cantwarbyrig to Rome 'aefter þes arceb pallium' and an 'munec' mid him Warner is gehaten."[26]

Is gehaten is, of course, a real present. The statement holds true for the time of writing.

1031. "Her com Cnut a (gan to Engla lande). Sona swa he becom to E. he geaf in to Christes cyrican on Cantwarebyri þa haefenan on Sandwic and ealla þa gerihta þe þaer of *arisað*. of aeiþer healfe þare haefene."[27]

The present here makes an assertion which was true in the year 1031 and which was also true at the time of the writing of our MS.

In MS. F. the entry for the year 47 shows an interesting use of the present tense. "Marcus se godspellere in Egipter aginð writan þe godspell." Viewed from one point of view, the present here does express an action which began and ended in past time. Mark's composition of the gospel antedated the entry in the Chronicle. But the entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle were written in such a manner as to create the illusion that they were entered during the year opposite the space in which they stand. They are, so to speak, "fake" entries, or calendar entries. The writer of this entry wrote just as one who lived in the year 47 would have written it. There is no reason whatsoever for regarding this tense as a historical present.

This collection of doubtful presents represents the gleanings from a considerable mass of material. The number of doubtful cases,

[26] Laud MS. Ed. Earle and Plummer, p. 246, l. 7.
[27] Parker MS., Ed. Earle and Plummer, p. 158.

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therefore, is relatively small in comparison with the number of cases where modern writers would probably have used a historical present. Even if we were to regard all of these doubtful presents as historical presents, we should be compelled to conclude that the historical present was extremely rare in Old English. If my reasons for rejecting them are correct, we can safely say that the historical present, as a linguistic usage, does not occur in Old English.

D. The Historical Present in the Latin Writings in England

Although the historical present does not occur in Old English, there are numerous instances of this use of the present in Latin works written in England during the O. E. period. I shall quote a few examples from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica.*

"Respondebant Scoti, quia non ambos eos caperet insula, sed possumus," inquiunt, "salubre vobis dare consilium."[28]

Caesar, et navibus onerariis atque actuariis circiter octoginta praeparatis, in Brittanniam *transvehitur.*[29]

At ubi turbo persecutionis quievit . . . *renovant* ecclesias ad solum usque destructas; basilicas sanctorum martyrum *fundant, construant,*[4] *perficiunt,* ac veluti victricia signa passim *propalant;* dies festos *celebrant.*[30]

. . . apud Britannias Gratianus Municeps tyrannus *creatur* et *occiditur.* Hujus loco Constantinus ex infima militia . . . *eligitur.*[31]

Sed hi, conscientia puniente deterriti, *jungunt* cum parentibus preces et curationem parvulae a sacerdotibus *deprecantur;* qui inclinatos animo adversarios intuentes orationem breviter fundant; ad deinde Germanus plenum Spiritu Sancto *invocat* Trinitatem.[32]

These selections, chosen at random, show that the historical present was common in the writings of Bede.[33] When one considers the absence of the historical present in Old English, he is struck by the frequent occurrence of this present in the Latin works of an Englishman.

On the subject of the use of the historical present in translations, Maetzner (II, 69) says: "This usage is completely foreign to Anglo-Saxon, and if the Gothic translation of the gospels sometimes leaves the Greek historical present still standing, the Anglo-Saxon presents

[28] Book I, Chapter I, p. 32, ed. J. A. Giles.
[29] *Ibid.*, I, 2, p. 36.
[30] *Ibid.*, I, 8, p. 52.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82.
[33] The Old English translation avoids the historical present.

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the preterite." I have tested this statement by comparing the Old English translation of the gospels with the Latin original, and have found Maetzner's statement to be true. I cite a few examples from the *Gospel of Saint John.*

The Latin Historical Present	The English Translation
I, 21, 38. *dicit*	*cweð, cwaeð*
28 *videt*	*gesaeh*
I, 39, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51 *dicit*:	*cweð*

There are approximately ninety-three examples of the Latin historical present in this gospel, but in no case is the Latin present rendered by an English present. A study of the other gospels shows the same avoidance of the present.

The Blickling Homilies are based on Latin originals. Max Förster[34] has made a study of the sources of some of the homilies. He points out that the influence of the Latin construction is very strong and states that some of the translations are slavish copying of the Latin. Yet in none of the cases cited by him have I found a Latin historical present rendered by an English present. For example:

Ecce, iam, iste Jesus suae divinitatis fulgore *fugat* omnes tenebras mortis, et firma ima carcerum *confregit*, etc.[35]

The Old English has "hafa . . . geflemed . . . and hafa to-brocen."

There is one interesting example of the present of citation which superficially seems to be a historical present:

Þonne cyþeð se godspellere þaet seo eadige faemnen swarode and þus saede, etc.[36]

In the Laud MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle[37] the historical present occurs in a Latin entry.

Cireneius Karolo imperator legatos suos cum pace *mittit.*

These quotations from the translations show that the historical present was consciously and repeatedly avoided. This avoidance is more significant than the absence of the historical present in Old English. It is natural to suppose that it should occur in translations from a language which employed this present. But I have found no

[34] Herrig's *Archiv* 91, 179 ff.

[35] Homily VII, lines 85-91.

[36] P. 9, l. 18. *E. E. T. S.* edition.

[37] Earle and Plummer, p. 59. I should prefer to call this a "fake" entry, and a real present tense. See the discussion of the quotations from the *Chronicle.*

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case of the historical present in the translations, not even in those works most strongly influenced by the Latin original. The reason for this avoidance of the historical present will be discussed in the proper place.

E. Middle English

I have read some thirty representative Middle English documents[38] from which I shall cite all of the very early examples of the historical present and representative examples from the later works. The arrangement of the quotations will be chronological. All cases where the present and preterit are identical in form will be rejected. Such occurrences are common in Kentish, especially with verbs of the fourth and fifth ablaut series.

Twelfth Century Homilies.	No examples.
History of the Holy Rood Tree.	No examples.
Saint Katherine.	One example.

> þaet nan ne seide na wiht
> ah seten stille ase stan,
> *cwich* ne *cweth* þer never an. (1252-54.)

Einenkel's note reads: "The form *cwich* is remarkable for the loss of the inflectional consonant, or rather its dissolution in the preceding guttural. In *cweth* this loss is quite common. The root vowel of *cwich* makes it probable that the form is derived from O. E. *cwician* and not *cweccan*. *Cweth*, like *cwich*, is historical present; the preterit form of the same person is *quoth*." We may reject *cweð* here and in lines 379, 1148, and 2444, for the preterit *cweð* is common enough in Middle English, especially in the Kentish dialect. It seems simpler to call this form a variant preterit with *quoð* than to regard it as a historical present. There is no variant for *cwic*. MS. R. has *cwic* and *cwed*. *Cwic* is therefore certainly a historical present.

It is interesting to note that no historical present of the Latin original is rendered by a present of the English. The translation is not a literal rendering of the Latin, but it is strongly influenced by the Latin style.

Seinte Marherete.	No examples.
Saint Juliana.	No examples.
Hali Meidenhad.	No examples.
Poema Morale.	No examples.
Layamon's *Brut* (12,000 lines.)	Five examples.[39]

[38] See the bibliography for a complete list of these works.

[39] The quotations are from MS. Cott. Calig. A IX (Date: *c.* 1200-25).

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He tah hine agein ane þrowe
and *þreate*ð þene castel.[40] (641-642.)

Brutus *sumun*ð his folc.
heo weren his fulle freonð.[41] (836-837.)

þa heora fader wes dead
Alle heo nomen enne read
and hine *biburien*
in Newe Troye þere burhȝe.[42] (2095-98.)

gumen heom *igaderen*
and wurpen heo to sa grunde.
þa araeste here unfriþe
over al me brac þene grið. (Otho. 4031-35.)

þo *fle*ð Bruttene king
Cassibilaune.[43] (8675-76)

The Ormulum. (16,000 lines). No examples.

Floris and *Blaunchefl*ur.

MS. Cott. Vitell. *c*. 1250-1300. Seven examples, or one to every fifty-seven lines.

and þe quene ate frome
By wepeð hire dere sone.
And the kinges herte is ful of care
þaet he *sik*ð is sone for love so fare. (53-56)

Other examples of the historical present in this MS. are to be found in lines 30, 31, and 68. The fragmentary condition of this MS., resulting in a frequent loss of the context for these passages, may throw some doubt on these citations.

In MS. Cambridge Gg 4.27.2 there are seventeen examples of the historical present, or one to every forty-eight lines.

Floris *nimc*ð nu his leve
no longer nolde he bileve.
He custe hem with softe muþe.
Al wepinge he *departe*ð nuþe."[44] (9-12)

Feire of him he *nimc*ð leve.
No lengur nolde he bileve. (147-148)

Nu hi *cluppe*ð and *cusse*ð
and *make*ð togadere muchel blisse. (549-550.)

[40] Cott. Otho CXIII has *þrettede*.
[41] Madden's note reads: "R summunde." Not in Otho.
[42] Otho has *burede*.
[43] Cott. Calig. has *fleh*.
[44] Cf. 148-149.

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Alle þat herde wordes his,
*Biseche*ð þat he granti þis. (757-58.)

Alle þoþere *biseche*ð þis,
and of þe Admiral igranted *is*. (765-766.)

and floriz he *make*ð stonde upriȝt,
and þer he dubbede him to kniȝt.
Nu boþe togadere þes childre for blisse
*Falle*ð to his fet hem to kisse.[46] (783-786.)

The Trentham MS. (*c.* 1440) is too late to throw much light on the origin of the historical present, but I have read it for the sake of comparison with the other MSS. There are thirty-one examples of the historical present, or one to every thirty-four lines. The manuscripts of this poem, therefore, show, in order of date, a steady increase in the frequency of the historical present. Since the subject matter of the manuscripts is constant, the varying degree of the frequency of the historical present is to be explained by the difference in date between the manuscripts or by the difference in the scribes. As will be shown below, a study of *King Horn* affords similar results. This steady increase in the use of the historical present is significant. It will be discussed in greater detail later on.

King Horn.[46]

Cambr. MS. (*c.* 1250)	No examples.
Harl. MS. (*c.* 1300-1325)	Four examples.[47]
Laud MS. (1300-1325)	Two examples.[48]

Genesis and Exodus (*c.* 1250) Twenty-three examples in 2536 lines (*Genesis*), and twenty-three in 1626 lines (*Exodus*). These examples are too numerous to quote. The line references are as follows: *Genesis* 379, 381, 391-3, 408, 412, 465, 1172, 1487, 1717, 1719, 1736, 1738, 2028-2031, 2037, 2148, 2226, 2313-4, 2447-9; *Exodus* 2544, 2703-4, 2705, 2857, 3022, 3061-2, 3243-4, 3373, 3625, 3640, 3704-5, 3742-3, 3808-9, 3953, 3964, and 3970.

Havelok (*c.* 1280). Three examples (3000 ll).

[46] Other examples occur in lines 32, 119, 149, 448, 465, 526, 632, and 699.

[46] Theo. Wissmann's critical text of *King Horn* (*Q. und F* 45, 1 ff.) shows no occurrence of the historical present.

[47] Lines 240, 385, 562, 73.

[48] Lines 135-136, 279.

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Of Goldeboru shul we nou laten,
þat nouth ne *blinneth* forto graten
þet sho *liggeth* in prisoun. (328-330.)

Alle þe oþere weren ful kene,
A red þei *taken* hem bi-twene,
þat he sholde him bi-halve. (1832-33.)

On the morwen, hwan it was day,
He *stirt* up sone, and nouth ne lay. (811-2.)

I do not regard *stirt* as a historical present. Bradley-Stratmann gives the preterit as *sterte* and *sturte*. The form *stirt*, however, occurs in lines 1147, 2256, and 2736, in each case in the phrase *stirt up*. Skeat gives *stirt* as a preterit. The usual Chaucerian forms are *stert* for the present and *sterte* for the preterit. We may, therefore, regard these occurrences in *Havelok* as doubtful examples of the historical present or as preterites with the elision of the final *e* before a following vowel. The fact that all of the examples occur in the phrase *stirt up* inclines me towards the latter view.

In this poem there is an interesting example of the interruption of the narrative by the insertion of the author's own opinion.

Jhese crist that lazoun
To live broucte from dede bondes,
He *lese* hire wit hise hondes. (331-333.)

Such a use of the present must not be confused with the historical present. This use of the present is found in the earliest stages of the language.

It is a little surprising to find that the author of *Havelok*, a poem in which the historical present occurs, avoids translating the historical presents of the Old French by English presents. The poem is not a literal translation of the French; the adaptation is very loose and free. But even in those passages which are closest to the French original a preterit is invariably used to translate the historical presents of the French.

French	English
fet, 217	*garte*, 189
fet, 89	*graythede*, 706
vint, 719	*cam*, 1926
fet, 843	*dide*, 2192

In the *Early South English Legendary*, or *Lives of Saints* (MS. Laud 108 Bodl. *c.* 1285-95) there is one example of the historical present:

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> Faste heo *loken* alle þe dore and
> leten him longe þere beo
> Ope þe swerdes pointes in
> deorkhede he ne miȝte noþing i-seo. (p. 188, l. 109.)

This is the only unambiguous historical present in the *Legendary*. There are numerous apparent historical presents, where the preterit and the present of the verb are identical in form: *wende*, 13:432; *wendan*, 31:47; *wepen*, 22:101; *beren*, 32:108, etc. A wish or a prayer of the author is often inserted in the narrative.

> Nouȝ crist helpe þis holi man. for he is ȝuyt povere inouȝ. (138: 1112.)
> ore loverd helpe nouþe seint þomas for oþur frend naȝ he non.
> Among so manie tyraunz for to come þat weren alle is fon. (128: 749.)
> Swete Jesus beo is help; oþur frend nadde he non. (134: 960.)

Note the shift of tense in the last two quotations, and compare:

> Nou helpe crist seint þomas. for neode he haȝ þere-to
> Nou boþe þe kingus beoȝ is fon. ȝware may he nou go? (153:1621)
> Joye þare was i-nou of treon and herbes, þikke i-nouȝ biset in eche side,
> And of swete preciouse stones þat briȝte *schynen* and wide. (221: 40-42.)

The action of the verb *schynen* is not present; the action is confined to no time-sphere, for the statement of the qualities of an object is timeless. The sentence could be written "bright-shining stones" without altering the meaning in the least. Or we may regard *schynen* as the preterit plural of a verb of the first ablaut series.

Cursor Mundi. After 1300 the historical present is so common that further citations would not be of interest. In the *Cursor Mundi* (MS. Cotton Vesp. A iii, *c.* 1300-1350) there are fifty-three examples of the historical present. They occur in lines 6, 487, 723, 726, 729, 993, 995, 996, 997, 1045-6, 1572, 2853, 3161, 3444, 3596, 3597, 4195, 4261, 4429, 5189-9, 5434-5, 6426, 7774, 7778, 7861, 7862, 7887, 8030, 9352, 10997, 11521, 11837, 11838, 12031, 13268, 13512, 14011, 14286, 15225-6, 16337, 16339, 16442, 16443, 16525, 16528, 16544, 16673, 16923, 21404, 24020, 24368, 24545, 24863. The Fairfax MS. (*c.* 1350-1400) keeps thirty-three of these; the Göttingen MS. (*c.* 1300-1350) forty-six, and the Trinity College MS. (*c.* 1400-1425) thirty-one. These figures show that the present and the preterit were easily interchanged. Since this interchange does not bear directly on our study of the origin of the historical present, it cannot be discussed here. The interchange seems to be for no particular reason. The use of preterit or a present is probably determined by the choice of the individual writer.

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The Debate of the Body and Soul. In a poem like *The Debate* there is little occasion to use the historical present; for there are few narrative passages. The following presents may be regarded as historical presents:

> As he shulde to tournement
> An hundred develes on him *dreven.* (Royal MS. 522-23).

This form may be a present from *draefen* or from *drefen* (O. E. *draefan, drefan,* weak verbs.). Or it may be a variant spelling for the preterit plural of *drīfen* (O. E. *drīfan,* preterit plural *drifon, driofan*).[49] Auch. has *dong,* Laud and Vernon *dongen,* and Digby *dungen.*

> þe erþe opened and tochon
> Smok and smorþer þerout *welle.* (Auch. 547-48.)

I regard this as a clear historical present. L. has *wal,* V. and D. *up þer wel,* and R. *gan welle.*[50]

The Pricke of Conscience, and *The English Prose Treatises* of Richard Rolle of Hampole show no examples of the historical present.

Lybeaus Disconus (1325-1350). In the 2130 lines of this poem there are eleven clear examples of the historical present: 497, 535, 542-44, 952, 956, 1217, 1350, 1393, 1958.

The Pearl (1360-1400). The nature of *The Pearl* precludes an extensive use of the historical present. The clear examples of this present occur in lines, 75, 77, 79, 128, 177, 185, 191, 507, 509-10, 511, 512, 513, 514. Five of these examples occur in rhyme.

Piers Plowman. The historical present is fairly common in *Piers Plowman.* Excluding all examples found in two or more versions, I have collected thirty-two examples from the three versions. There are many presents which it would be impossible to classify to the satisfaction of all readers. A shift in tone often gives the present the force of customary action. A glance at the examples will show that the preterit and the historical present occur side by side with apparently no difference in meaning. In some cases the preterit precedes, in others it follows, the historical present. I have quoted from the parallel texts in order to show the variations in the use of the historical present in any given case. The line references are to Skeat's *Three Parallel Texts.* The numbers in parenthesis refer to Dr. T. A. Knott's critical text of A[1].

[49] This explanation was suggested to me in a class discussion by Dr. T. A. Knott.

[50] For this poem I have used as a text Dr. Knott's unpublished collations of all the MSS.

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A. Founden hem fantasyes and folles hem maaden. (36 [36])
B. Feynen hem fantasyes and foles hem maketh. (36.)
C. And fynde up foule fantesyes and foles hem maken. (37.)
The lewede men likede him wel and leeveth his speche. (A. 69.)
levede and likede. (Knott, 69.)
leved and lyked. (B. 72.)
lyvede and likeden. (C, 70.)
Ther hoveth an hundret in houves of selk (A, 84)
hovede. (Knott, 84.)
hoved. (B, 210.)
hovede (C, I, 159.)
Cookes and heore knaves cryen 'hote pies,' hote. (A, 104.)
crieth. (Knott, 104.)
crieden. (B, 225.)
crieden. (C, 226.)
Nou Simonye and Sivyle stondeth forth bothe
Unfolding the feffement that Falsness made
And thus bygonnen the gomes and gradden hem hyȝe. (A, II, 57-59.)
stondth . . . begynne, grede. (Knott, II, 53-56.)
stonden . . . unfoldeth . . . beginneth to greden (B, 69-70.)
stoden . . . unfelde. (C, 72-73.)
In the date of the devil the deed was aseled. (A, II, 81.)
is aseled. (Knott, II, 77.)
I assele. (B, II, 112.)
is a-seled. (C, III, 114.)
Herto assentid Syvyle, but symonye, etc. (A, III, 110.)
assenteth. (Knott, 106.)
assenteth. (B, 141.)
a-sentyd. (C, 155.)

Other examples occur in II, 158, 160, 187; III, 1, 12, 99, 100; IV, 14, 22-23, 59-60, 146-147; V, 157; VI, 1; VII, 58, 99-100; VIII, 92; XI, 86; B, II, 71-73, 141, 183-185, 211; III, 103-104; IV, 1, 12-14, 23; V, 134, 304-305, 314; VII, 108; XIII, 347-348; XVII, 78-80; XIX, 266-267; XX, 149-150, 167, 361, 366. I do not list the occurrences in C which are not also found in A and B.

Gawayne and the Green Knight (1350-1400). The historical present is unusually common in this poem. There are 252 examples in the 2530 lines of the poem, or, roughly speaking, one to every ten lines. The occurrences are too common to list.

Chaucer. The historical present is used very frequently by Chaucer. A reading of any extensive narrative passage will afford illustrations of this use of the present.

In this section I have collected the facts in regard to the historical present in Old and Middle English. They may be briefly summarized:

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1. The historical present does not occur in Old English.[51]

2. It is, however, very common in the Latin writings written in England during the Old English period.

3. The Old English translators consistently and repeatedly avoided translating a historical present of the Latin by an English historical present.

4. The historical present appeared first in English at the beginning of the thirteenth century; it became fairly common before the end of the century; and by the end of the fourteenth century it was used with the greatest freedom.

These are the facts. The theories which have been advanced to explain these facts will be discussed in the second section of this paper. Before choosing any particular theory we must apply it to the facts and determine whether it satisfactorily explains them.

II

We have seen that six different theories have been offered to explain the origin of the historical present in English. No writer on this subject, however, has supported his theory by any considerable body of facts. We now have such a body of facts and are in a position to apply each theory to them as they have been listed in the preceding section, and so to study the merits of each theory.[1]

We have seen that Maetzner[2] explained the absence of the historical present in Old English as due to a lack of vivid imagination on the part of the Old English writers. To show the weakness of such an argument it is necessary only to call attention to the fact that Bede often used the historical present in his Latin. His *Historia Ecclesiastica* could hardly be called vividly imaginative. Lack

[51] The two examples in *Christ and Satan* are exceptions to this general statement.

[1] It would be interesting to find out in what dialect the historical present first occurred. But the scarcity of early documents makes such an investigation futile.

[2] English Grammar, II, 68 ff. "The historical present seems to have been especially developed in Old English out of popular poetry and not without the influence of Old French. . . . The historical present and its interchange with the preterite (definite and perfect) was familiar to Old French poetry and even in prose in the most varied commixture. . . . This usage is completely foreign to Anglo-Saxon, and if the Gothic translations of the gospels sometimes leaves the Greek historical present still standing, the A. S. presents the preterite. The A. S. poetry lacks that warmth which gives scope for the subjective view."

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of imagination will not explain why the historical present was consistently avoided, even in those translations which most slavishly followed the original. Nor will it explain why all of the Germanic languages fail to use it in the earlier stages of their development. I do not think that this theory demands any further consideration; it is too completely subjective.

Wunderlich[3] believes that the historical present developed naturally and logically from presents closely related to it. This seems a logical explanation, but it will not account for the absence of the historical present in Old English. Nor will it explain its apparently sudden appearance in Middle English. The presents which were classified and discussed in the first section of this paper are related to the historical present, but they are not closely related. In all of them there is an element of real present time. The historical present, on the contrary, expresses a past action, an action which has absolutely no connection with present time. This characteristic of the historical present sharply distinguishes it from presents related to it.

Moreover, the gradual development for which Wunderlich argues did not take place until the historical present appeared independently in M. H. G., and in M. E. We shall have to explain why no historical present gradually developed in the older stages of these languages. Wunderlich's theory gives us no answer to these questions.

We have seen that Brinkmann,[4] Grimm,[5] and Maetzner[6] are of

[3] *Deutsche Satzbau*, I, 158 ff. Wunderlich classifies the presents which resemble the historical present and which may be confused with it. He then turns to a discussion of the historical present. "Darauf (Grimm's statement) stütz sich die seit Grimm oft wiederholte Behauptung, dass das historische Praesens der älteren Sprache fremd sie. Dem entgegen stehen aber manigfache Zeugnisse aus Denkmälern, wo unbeirrt durch eine Vorlage und unbeeinflusst durch fremdes Muster das historische Praesens durchbricht, dessen Wurzeln zum Teil eben in oben besprechenen Wendungen liegen."

[4] "Jetzt ist diese Ausdrucksweise ein allgemeiner Gebrauch des Französischen, Englischen, Deutschen, aller romanischen Mundarten, wie des Lateinischen und Griechischen. Es erschient jedoch als auffallender Charakterzug der älteren germ. Mundarten, vom Gothischen an bis zum Mittel hochdeutschen das Widerstreben, das Praesens in dieser Weise zu gebrauchen, und zwar tritt dies Widerstreben um so entschiedenes hervor, je älter die Mundart ist, so dass wir bei Ulfilas fast ein jedes historisches Praesens des Griechischen durch das Praeteritum übersetzt finden. . . . Das steht offenbar im Zusammenhange mit der anderen Eigentümlichkeit des Gothischen und Althochdeutschen, keine besondere Form für das Futur zu haben, und das fehlende Futur durch das Praesens vertreten zu lassen."

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the opinion that the historical present is a borrowing from Old French. Let us see whether the historical present occurs most frequently in works influenced by French models. We may divide the earliest Middle English documents into two classes: those based upon Latin originals, and those based upon French. In the first class belong the *Homilies*, *The Holy Rood Tree*, *Saint Katherine*, *Saint Marherete*, *Saint Juliana*, *Hali Meidenhad*, *The Legendary*, and *Genesis and Exodus*. In the second class are *The Brut*, *Floris and Blauncheflur*, *Havelok*, and *Horn*. Of the first group *Saint Katherine* shows one example of the historical present, *The Legendary* one, and *Genesis and Exodus* forty-six. Of the second group *The Brut* (the first 12,000 lines) furnishes five clear examples, the Cotton MS. of *Floris and Blauncheflur* seven, the Cambridge MS. seventeen, the Harl. MS. of *Horn* four, the Laud MS. two. The last two MSS. are after 1300.

It must be remembered also that the saints' lives and the homilies are of such a nature as to call for the use of few historical presents. I do not think, therefore, that the difference in the use of the historical present in the two groups is great enough either to serve as a basis of an argument or to be of any value to our discussion. No sound arguments can be based on such evidence. If this phenomenon is to be explained as a borrowing from the French, how are we to account for the fact that the earliest manuscript of *Havelok*, which, however, is later than the earliest occurrences of the historical present, shows no examples of this use of the present? Or how are we to explain the avoidance of the historical present in those passages which are closest to the O. F. original? We have seen that no historical present of the original is rendered by a present in English. *Havelok*, of course, is a very loose adaptation of the French text, but the influence of the French, not the translation from it, is the basis of the argument for the French influence on English tenses. If we accept the theory of French influence, we shall have to assume that each Germanic language made a separate borrowing, at about the same time, from some language which used the historical present. Sweet explains the historical present in Old Norse as a borrowing

"Das Angelsächische macht von diesem gemeingermanischen Zuge keine Ausnahme. . . . und im Englischen ist ebenso wie im Mhd. das allmähliche Eindringen des hist. praes. dem Einfluss des Altfranzösichen zuzuschreiben." *Syntax* II, 682-3.

[5] *Deutsche Gram.* IV, 140 ff.

[6] See quotation from Maetzner above, p. 21.

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from Old Irish. This borrowing, of course, is entirely possible, but we should, if we can, accept a theory which will account for this phenomenon in the whole group of Germanic languages. In choosing between the various theories we should, when all the other factors are equal, choose that theory which explains both the absence of the historical present in Old English and its appearance in Middle English. This the theory of French influence cannot do; it concerns only one side of the question. For these reasons I am unable to put much faith in this theory.

Jespersen[7] attacks the theory of French influence on different grounds. He would explain the historical present as a colloquial expression, the absence of which in written Old English is to be explained by the fact that we have no popular or colloquial remains from this period of the language. He maintains that the historical present occurs first in popular poetry. It will be worth while to examine his theory in detail.

It is true that we have no popular documents from the Old English period. But we cannot assume that the historical present would be found if we had such documents. There is no direct proof or disproof of such a supposition. We must depend, therefore, upon indirect evidence, the evidence obtained from the study of the historical present in other languages, and the evidence of the Middle

[7] "Men selvom den dramatiske nutid saaledes er en slags stilistisk kunstgreb, er den ingen grund til at tro at denne udtryksmaade ikke skulde vaere folkelig; den er det sikkert endogsaa i høj grad, som man kan iagttage ved at lytte til almuesfolks beretninger om egne oplevelser. Denne fortaellemaade er saa naturlig, ja uundgaaelig, at der ikke er fjerneste grund til at formode at den nogetsteds skulde skyldes litteraert laan fra et folk til et andet. Dette antages dog ofte. Saaledes mener Sweet at det "historiske praesens" paa engelsk skulde skyldes fransk og latinsk indflydelse; i de islandske sagaer, hvor det jo findes i stor udstraekning, mener han at det er laant fra oldirsk. (Phil. Soc *Proceedings* 1885-87, s. xlv, *Grammar* §2228.) Ligeledes mener Einenkel og andre, at det i middelengelsk skyldes oldfransk. Daerimod taler imidlertid den omstaendighed at det i middelengelsk isaer findes i den folkelige digtning, hvor fremmed indflydelse paa syntaktisk brug er meget lidt sandsynlig. At det dramatiske praesens slet ikke eller kun sjaeldent findes i oldengelsk, beroer rimeligvis paa at vi daer helt savner livlige fortaellinger i dagligligs prosa af samme art som sagaerne. I det hele taget hører faenomenet til den klasse hverdagsudtryksmaader som først optraeder ret sent i skrift, fordi de saa at sige betragtedes som liggende under litteraturens vaerdighed. Sammenlign hermed at det ikke findes Homer, men i rigeligt maal hos Herodot. Delbrück har utvivlsomt ret i sit udtryk at det er "gewiss uraltvolkstümlich." (*Syntax* II, 261.). *Tid og Tempus*, 386.

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English writings. Moreover, we must bear in mind that the center of the discussion is the historical present in English and the other Germanic languages, not the origin of the historical present in general. I think that there can be little doubt regarding the justice of Jespersen's assertion that the historical present is found most frequently in colloquial speech. And it is logical, also, to assume that the origin of the historical present was probably colloquial. But if we accept this much of Jespersen's argument, it does not follow that we shall accept his theory as an explanation of the origin of the historical present in English. For the main problem here is not the appearance of the historical present in Middle English, or in Middle High German, but the absence of this use of the present in the older stages of these languages and the conscious avoidance of it in translating Latin into Old English. If possible, we must explain the difference between the usage of the Germanic languages, on the one hand, and that of Latin, Greek, and the Romance languages, on the other. If Jespersen is right, it is extremely surprising that no Old English writer inadvertently used the historical present, a colloquialism which would be known to him, and which it would be difficult for him consistently to avoid. And it would be still more surprising to think that all of the translators in the Old English period so strongly felt the historical present as a colloquialism that they avoided it with perfect consistency. Jespersen gives no citations to support his assertion that the historical present is found most frequently in colloquial or popular documents in Middle English. It would be extremely difficult to make a classification of the Middle English documents into colloquial (*folkelige*) and non-colloquial works. No classification of this kind would meet with the approval of all students. A general classification, however, may be made: *The Brut*, *Floris and Blauncheflur*, *Havelok*, and *Horn* seem more or less colloquial in style and tone; the *Homilies*, the three saints' lives, *Hali Meidenhad*, *Genesis and Exodus*, and *The Legendary* are more dignified, standardized, and literary. We have seen that there is no appreciable difference between these two groups in the use of the historical present. Such a classification will not help us much in deciding between the various theories.

If we apply the terms popular or colloquial to those documents which were written for the people who were unable to read the original Latin or French, then practically all of the English literature of this

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period would fall under this head, and such a test would not serve as the basis of an argument. We face the disagreeable fact that nearly all of the literature of this period is based upon foreign models. There is no marked difference between the works of this period in the use of the historical present, regardless of the method by which we classify them.

I do not believe that Jespersen's theory can be proved or disproved. The evidence that I have collected does not support his theory regarding the absence of the historical present in Old English. Jespersen's discussion of the colloquial origin of the historical present in general is admirable, but it does not satisfactorily explain the English historical present.

Erdmann,[8] Brinkmann,[9] and Sweet[10] believe that the historical present must be studied in connection with the periphrastic future. Their theory may be stated as follows: Since Germanic had no characteristic future form, the present had to serve a triple function: it was used to express general truths, present actions, and future actions. The use of this form to indicate past events would have caused ambiguity and confusion by crowding too many meanings upon one form of the verb. This theory is so closely connected with Behaghel's theory of *Aktionsart* that it will be best to discuss them together.

Behagel's theory, which is accepted by Willmanns, is such an important one that it must be studied in detail. I shall quote him at length. His discussion of the origin of the historical present is incidental to his study of the sequence of tenses, and is to be found on pages 199 ff. of his *Der Gebrauch der Zeitformen.*

"Bekanntlich besitzt das Deutsche ursprünglich kein Praesens historicum; heutzutage ist es allgemein, und zwar eignet es auch der Rede des Volks, wodurch jeder Gedanke an einen etwaigen Einfluss des Lateinischen oder des Romanischen

[8] *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax* 140. "Auch vergangene Handlungen können bei anschaulicher Erzählung als gegenwärtig dargestellt werden, Zu dieser Anwendung des Praesens zeigt die ältere Sprache keine Neigung. wahrscheinlich weil bei der allgemein üblichen Verwendung des Praesens für das Futurum Undeutlichkeit hätten entstehen können, wenn dasselbe auch von vergangenen Handlungen gebraucht worden wäre."

[9] *Syntax* II, 682-3. See the quotations from Brinkmann, footnotes to pages 22-23.

[10] *Phil. Soc. Proceedings* 1885-87, p. xlv. "Mr. Sweet believed that the historical present was not quite natural in the Teutonic languages either in late or early times. The present being also used for the future, was unsuitable to express the past as well."

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ausgeschlossen wird: ein schlagender Beleg für den Satz, dass aus Übereinstimmung in syntaktischen Dingen nicht auf Hinaufreichen der betreffenden Konstruktion in eine gemeinsame Sprachperiode geschlossen werden darf. Das Praesens historicum besteht im Sanskrit (Delbrück und Windisch, *Syntaktische Forschungen* II, s. 89 u. 131) wie im Griechischen, im Lateinischen wie im Slavischen und Deutschen; und doch hat sich dasselbe, z. B. im Slavischen so gut wie im Deutschen erst in historischer Zeit entwickelt. (Míklosich, *Gram.* IV, 778.)"

"Für dieses Auftreten selbst die Gründe anzugeben, hat, wie vorhin bemerkt (s. 200), seine Schwierigkeiten. Vielleicht aber können wir die Ungewissheit doch noch um eine Stufe zurückschieben. Einen Grund für das verhältnismässig späte Auftreten des Praes. hist. könnte man darin sehen, dass das Praesens ertst dann die Funktion eines Präteritums zu übernehmen vermocht hätte, nachdem es die des Futurs an eine selbständige Form abgegeben. Indessen ist es mir zweifelhaft, ob jene Übertragung wirklich die condicio sine qua non war; denn das Praesens hat in Wahrheit die futurische Funktion auf den heutigen Tag nicht völlig verloren, muss also doch zur Bezeichnung der drei verschiedenen Zeitformen dienen. Das Slavische hat ja auch keine vom Praesens geschiedene Form des Futurs und kennt doch das historische Praesens. (Miklosich, IV, 778)

"Die Erklärung scheint vielmehr auf einem ganz andern Gebiete zu liegen. Die Regel über das Auftreten jenes die Vergangenheit schildernden Praesens im. Mhd. kann man auch so fassen, dass da, wo das Praesens Vergangenes veranschaulicht, weitaus überwiegend das Praesens von imperfektiven Verben verwendet wird. Soll nun in einem Satze wie *Parz.* 451, 3; 'hin ritet Herzelogen fruht' ein echtes Praesens historicum im neuern Sinn gefunden werden, so muss *ritet* als perfektives Verbum gefasst werden können. Mit andern Worten: das Praes. hist. in seinem vollen Umfang kann sich erst dann ausbilden, wenn der alte Unterschied der Verba perfektiva und imperfektiva sich zu verwischen beginnt. Leider wissen wir über die Geschichte der beiden Aktionsarten für die mhd. Zeit noch so gut wie nichts."

To understand Behaghel's theory it will be necessary for us to make a rather long digression for the purpose of discussing *aktionsart*, which is the basis of the theory.

Streitberg (P. B. *B.* XV, 70-177) was the first to make a detailed study of *aktionsart* in Germanic. Since the appearance of his article a vast number of discussions have appeared.[11] Though many writers have attacked Streitberg's nomenclature and have questioned some of his conclusions, his theory in general has not been assailed. I shall give a brief summary of Streitberg's treatment of this subject. I quote from his *Urgerm. Gram.* 276 ff.

"Das indogermanische Verbalsystem kannte von Haus aus keine formalen Kategorien, die dazu bestimmt gewesen wären, die Zeitstufe (Vergangenheit,

[11] See Brugmann, *Vergl Gram.* II, 3, 1. 1913 ed., pp. 68-70 for a partial bibliography.

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Gegenwart, und Zukunft) ausdrücken. Denn das, was wir Tempora zu nennen gewohnt sint, diente ursprünglich keineswegs, zur Unterschiedung der Zeitstufen, sondern vielmehr zur Charakterisierung der Aktionsarten, d. h. der Art und Weise, wie der Handlung vor sich ging. Die ungemein zahlreichen Praesens-klassen, das Perfekt und der s-Aorist (der so-genannte starke Aorist ist nur syntaktisch, nicht aber formell ein Aorist; vielmehr gehört es seiner Bildung nach aufs engste zum Praesens) sind vollkommen zeitlos, soweit sie nicht mit dem Augment versehn sind. Ihr einziger Zweck ist, die verschiednen Aktionsarten von einander zu unterscheiden. Leider sind wir bis jetzt noch nicht in der Lage, die Funktionen aller Kategorien genau zu bestimmen; namentlich in Bezug auf die ursprünglichen Bedeutungen der meisten Praesensklassen herrscht noch grosse Unklarheit, die nur eine sorgfältige Durchforschung der vedischen Sprache zu heben im stande sein wird. . . ."

"Die wichtigsten Aktionsarten sind folgende.

(1) "Die durative oder imperfektive Aktionsart. Sie stellt die Handlung in ihrer ununterbrochnen Dauer oder Kontinuität dar; z. B. nhd. 'steigen' bedeutet 'in der Handlung des Steigens begriffen sein,' wie es die englische Wendung 'to be mounting' aufs schärfste ausdrückt. Ebenso ist z. B. nhd. gehn 'to be going' wie die meisten unsrer nichtzusammengesetzten Verba imperfecktiv. . . ."

(2) "Die inchoative Aktionsart. Sie drückt den ganz allmählichen Übergang von einem Zustand in den anderen aus."

(3) "Die perfektive Aktionsart. Sie fügt dem materielen Bedeutungsinhalt des Verbums noch den Nebenbegriff des Vollendetwerdens hinzu. Die Handlung wird also nicht wie beim Durativ schlechthin in ihrem Fortgang, in ihrer Kontinuität bezeichnet, sondern stets im Hinblick auf den Moment ihrer Vollendung. Dabei ist es natürlich ganz gleichgültig, ob der Augenblick der Vollendung der Vergangenheit, der Gegenwart oder der Zukunft angehört; denn die Zeitstufe kann unter keinen Umständen von der Art und Weise abhängig sein, in der sich die Handlung vollzieht. Die Mittel, wodurch die Unterschiede in den Zeitstufen ausgedrückt werden, müssen daher prinzipiell von denen völlig verschieden sein, wodurch die Aktionsarten charakterisiert werden. . . ."

"Wie man sieht, hat das zusammengesetzte Verbum Perfektivbedeutung, das Simplex dagegen ist durativ. Dies Verhältnis ist im Balto-Slavischen und im Altgermanischen das regelmässige. Man vergleiche die Perfektivierung durch Komposition bei den got. Verben Durativ hausjan 'hören'; d. h. 'die Fähigkeit des Hörens in Anwendung bringen': Perfectiv ga-hausjan, 'vernehmen'; d. h. den Moment der Vollendung der Handlung des Hörens erreichen. . . ."

"Da sich die Bedeutung eines jeden Verbalkompositums aus drei Faktoren zusammensetzt, nämlich aus dem materiellen Bedeutungsinhalt der Präposition und der durch die Zusammensetzung verursachten Modifikation der Aktionsart, so leuchtet ein, dass, abgesehn von dem Unterschied der Aktionsart, das Kompositum dem Simplex gegenüber einen Bedeutungszuwachs durch die materielle Bedeutung der Präposition erfährt. Führt die Präposition keine selbständige Existenz mehr, so kann ihre materielle Bedeutung in dem Masse verblassen, dass bei der Zusammensetzung die Änderung der Aktionsart das einzige Ergebnis der Verbindung ist; die Präposition ist alsdann zu einem rein formalen Mittel zum Ausdruck der Aktionsart geworden. Im Germanischen ist das in erster Linie

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bei ga- der Fall. Dieses ist daher zur Perfektiverung ganz vorzüglich geeignet.

"Neben den Momentan-perfektiven Verben, die lediglich den Augenblick des Abschlusses hervorheben und deshalb graphisch durch einen Punkt dargestellt werden, können auch solche perfektiven Verba existieren, die den Moment der Vollendung ausdrücklich einer Vorausgegangnen kontinuierlichen Thätigkeit entgegen stellen. Man kann sie als durativ-perfektive[12] Verba bezeichnen. Eine eigne formale Kategorie existiert auf germanischen Boden nur in den trennbaren Verbalkompositis der neuhochdeutschen."

(4) "Die iterative Aktionsart, die eine regelmässige Wiederholung einer a) durativen, b) perfektiven Handlung ausdrückt. . . . Im Germanischen existiert keine besondere Iterativkategorie wie im Slavischen."

(5) "Die perfektische Aktionsart. Man hüte sich die perfektische Aktionsart, die ihren Namen von dem Perfekt hat, mit der eben behandelten perfektiven Aktionsart zu verwechseln; beide haben nicht das geringste miteinander gemein. Die perfektische Aktionsart bezeichnet die Handlung im Zustand des Vollendet- und Fertigseins."[13]

The soundness of Streitberg's general discussion of *aktionsart* has not been challenged. I shall, therefore, use his work as a basis for my discussion. Before taking up this subject in Old English, I shall give a brief summary of the results of his study of perfectivity in Gothic.[14] We may take Gothic as one definite illustration in a single language.

1. Gothic, like Balto-Slavic, had verbal compounds whose single elements were not separable.

2. Gothic made a distinction between perfectives and imperfectives, but it lacked a special iterative category.

3. Perfectives were made through the addition of prepositional adverbs to imperfective simplicia. Most simplicia were imperfective, but there were some perfective simplicia.[15]

4. There were also some durative simplicia which were not capable of being made perfective, or were made so only under certain restrictions.

5. *Ga-* was the particle which had given up most of its original local meaning and which was, therefore, best suited for simply modi-

[12] Delbrück, *Syntax* II, 146 ff., maintains that perfectives (*i. e.*, forms compounded with prepositions) should be distinguished from "punctual" verbs, Streitberg's "momentan-perfektiven Verba."

[13] Wunderlich (*Der Deutsche Satzbau*, I. 149-150.) argues against Streitberg's last class. Delbrück (*Syntax*) and Brugmann (*Vergl. Gram.*) do not include perfect or inchoative *aktionsarten*.

[14] *P. B. Beiträge* XV, p. 176.

[15] See Delbrück, II, 146 ff. for an opposite view.

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fying the nature of the action; *i. e.*, it could easily become a mere formal sign of perfectivity.

6. Since the old I-E s-future had been lost in Germanic, the Germanic languages had no special form for the future. The distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs, however, was used to fill up gaps in the tense system. This distinction was used in the following manner:

a) The perfective verbs could rarely express present time. The nature of their meaning made this expression almost impossible.[16] The present form of a verb of this class, therefore, could express only future or past time (*i. e.*, as an historical present). These statements hold true for Balto-Slavic, which used the present of an iterative verb to express the present action of a perfective verb. The absence of an iterative category in Germanic, however, caused a weakening of this distinction, and the perfective verbs sometimes have a present meaning. As a rule, however, Wulfila translates a Greek future by the present tense of a perfective verb.

b) A durative future could be expressed only by a periphrase with *skal*, *haban*, and *duginnan*, etc. Such a periphrase was not used invariably. It occurs most frequently in cases where clearness is necessary. In many cases the future tense remains unexpressed in the Gothic translation; *i. e.*, the Gothic uses a present tense as a substitute for the Greek future.

Delbrück differs from Streitberg in some points. He asserts that the present form of a perfective verb generally expressed present meaning. The present form of a perfective verb when used as a future emphasized the entrance or beginning of the action in the future time-sphere. The present form of an imperfective verb represented the action as enduring or continuing in the future. He emphasizes what Streitberg only suggests, that the use of a present form to express future action is only a more or less rough equivalent of the Greek future.

We are now prepared to discuss Behaghel's theory in detail. His discussion of the origin of the historical present is only incidental to his study of the sequence of tenses. His treatment of the subject is therefore very brief, and it is extremely difficult to understand just what he means. He apparently takes for granted that his reader is familiar with the subject of *aktionsart* in its relation to tense. Since

[16] See Delbrück II, 123 ff. for an interesting discussion of this subject.

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few readers will have the background necessary to understand the details of Behaghel's theory, it will be well to explain his theory at length.[17]

According to my interpretation, Behaghel's theory may be stated in these words: the earliest uses of the present to express past actions were in connection with imperfective verbs. Grimm had pointed out that such presents generally presented the pictures of a definite situation, or represented a moment of rest in the action. The action was represented as continuing, with no indication of the attainment of the goal; *i. e.*, the verb was imperfective. If, in the example quoted by Behaghel—*hin ritet Herzelogen fruht*—, *ritet* is a "real historical present in the new sense," *i. e.*, if it denotes an action which began and ended in past time, an action which is equivalent to the action of a preterit tense, *ritet*[18] surely may be regarded as a perfective verb.[19] But *hin ritet* was originally imperfective; *i. e.*, it denoted an action beginning in past time and continuing in past time, with no indication of the attainment of the goal. The original distinction between perfectives and imperfectives had begun to weaken. Until this weakening had taken place, the historical present could not be used "in its full extent."

What Behaghel means by "in seinem vollen Umfang" may not be perfectly clear to the casual reader. He means that originally the present of a perfective verb could not be used to express a past action, because the present form of such a verb generally expressed future action. So long as the present form of a perfective had this future force, it was impossible to use this form to express past actions. In other words, the historical present could not be used in connection with perfective verbs.

Behaghel attacks the theory that the historical present could not have arisen until the development of the periphrastic future had freed the present form from the necessity of expressing both present and future actions. I think that it can be shown that Behaghel's

[17] My summary will not be an abstract of Behaghel's theory. It is rather my interpretation of his remarks and an elaboration of his theory. I do not hold him responsible for any possible misinterpretation or misapplication of his theory. The reader will do well to read Behaghel for himself.

[18] Erdmann, *loc. cit.*, and Boezinger, *op. cit.* 48, regard this as a historical present.

[19] We may translate: "The son of H. rides away (thither)." This form would then convey the same meaning as the preterit *reit*.

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theory does not contradict this theory, but rather confirms it.

First, Behaghel argues that the present is still used for the future in German. The same statement might be made for the English language. But this statement is true only to a very limited extent. A modifying adverb or adverbial phrase generally accompanies the verb; for example, "He leaves town to-morrow." Moreover, this use of the present as a future occurs chiefly in subordinate clauses, which take their tense from the verb of the main clause. In such clauses the verbal idea and not the tense is stressed. Such a sentence as, "If he comes, I shall be glad to see him," can be rewritten in such a way as to get rid of the subordinate clause entirely: "I shall be glad to see him come." Or a phrase may often be substituted for the subordinate clause.

In Old English, on the other hand, the present form was the usual way of expressing future actions. Modal auxiliaries were sometimes employed, but these had not yet become real futures.[20] In his *Grammar* Aelfric uses the present plus an adverb of time to express the future idea. While this device was often employed, it was by no means consistently carried out, as a reading of Aelfric himself will show.

Again, Behaghel points out that in Slavic, "which still has no future form distinguished from the present," the historical present occurs. At first glance this argument seems unanswerable. In a discussion of this kind, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that *aktionsart* in Germanic and *aktionsart* in Balto-Slavic are entirely different things.[21] In Germanic the distinction between perfectives and imperfectives is a survival of what was perhaps a vital distinction in Ur-germanic. A comparison of the force of the prefix *ga-*, the prefix most frequently employed as a means of perfectivity, in Gothic, O.H.G., O.S. and O.E. will show a gradual weakening of the perfective force of this prefix, a fact which implies that the force of this prefix was most important in Ur-germanic.

In Balto-Slavic, on the other hand, such distinctions were used to fill up gaps in the tense system. Almost every imperfective verb whose meaning was capable of being made perfective could become perfective by the addition of a perfective prefix. Since the present form of the perfectives indicated future action, the perfective was

[20] Blackburn, *The English Future.*

[21] Delbrück II, 158 ff.; Mourek, *Anz. f. d. a.*, 21, 195; Lindroth P. B. *B.*, 31, 243; Herbig, *I-F.*, 6, 157 ff., and especially 204.

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as clear a sign of the future as either "shall" or "will" is in English. Leskien[22] says: "Es (das praesens des Perfektivverbums) ersetzt also, soweit es sich eben um perfektive Verba handelt, ein formales temp. Futurum."

In Germanic, however, there are no examples of new formations of perfective verbs within historic times.[23] Delbrück[24] has shown that Germanic shows only a few traces of original *aktionsarten*. Streitberg[25] has pointed out that Germanic was affected by the absence of a special iterative category. Leskien[26] says of this class of verbs:

"Das Iterativum wird ebenfalls durch die Zusammensetzung mit Präposition an sich perfektiv; eine solche Zusammensetzung drückt also an sich die einzelnen Akte der Wiederholung als zeitlich zusammenhängend vorgestellt werden, so erscheint die aus den einzelnen Akten bestehende Gesamthandlung als durativ. Auf dieser Grundlage ist eine Weiterentwicklung erfolgt. Die iterative Form der mit Präpositionen zusammengesetzten Perfektivverba hat in den allermeisten Fällen die eigentliche Iterativbedeutung verloren und ist nur noch Imperfektivum zu den betreffenden Perfektiva, in seiner Praesensform also Praesens zu dem futurischen Sinn des Perfektivs."

This use of the iteratives was impossible in Germanic, and the perfective present, therefore, sometimes had to express a present action.

In discussing *aktionsart* in Balto-Slavic we must be careful, furthermore, to state in each case which particular language or dialect is under discussion. There are decided differences in this respect between the various languages. For example, Serbian-Croatian does not use the present of a perfective verb in a main clause as a future, but employs a periphrase instead. Again, Lithuanian has a regular future form, and so must be left out of the discussion.[27]

The statements made by Leskien, Delbrück, and Streitberg show that those Balto-Slavic languages which used the present form of a perfective verb to take the place of the lost future rarely used the historical present. When it was used, a preceding preterit indicated the past action. The present form of an iterative verb took the place of the present tense of a perfective verb.

Now, Germanic had no iterative category and did not distinguish so sharply between perfectives and imperfectives. The further

[22] *Gram.*, p. 227.

[23] With the exception, of course, of the new informations in N. H. G.

[24] *Syntax* II, 122 ff.

[25] *P. B. B.* XV, 75-76.

[26] *Altbulg. Handbuch*, 161-62.

[27] For further differences see Vondrak II, 273, and Herbig *I-F.*, 6, 190 ff.

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weakening of this distinction caused the present form of both classes of verbs to be used to express both present and future time. The periphrase with a modal auxiliary, which occurs only with imperfectives in Balto-Slavic, was used with both classes of verbs in Germanic. It is significant that each Germanic dialect developed this periphrase into a future tense. Moreover, it is significant that this development in M. H. G. and in M. E. antedated the use of the present form of the verb as a historical present. The study of *aktionsart* in Germanic, then, will explain the origin of the periphrastic future. Behaghel has studied *aktionsart* only in connection with the origin of the historical present. The two tenses must be studied together, and we, therefore, again face the relation of the historical present to the future tense.

It will be well to give a brief summary of the study of *aktionsart* in Old English and in the other Germanic dialects.

We have already discussed Streitberg's treatment of perfectivity in Gothic. His theory works fairly well when applied to Gothic, but not nearly so well when applied to the other Germanic dialects. The weakening of the distinction between perfectives and imperfectives is just what one would expect.

Wustmann[28] in his study of the *Heliand* obtained the following results:[29]

1. The present of a perfective verb did not always express future time.

2. Since there was no periphrastic future in Old Saxon, a Latin future was often changed to a real present, or it was rendered by a present plus an adverb of time, or by a modal auxiliary plus the infinitive.

Hesse[30] studied perfectivity in the Alfredian translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. His results are as follows:

1. Old English is similar to Gothic in regard to the distinction between perfectives and imperfectives.

2. Durative simplicia become perfective by the addition of certain prefixes.

3. Perfective simplicia, however, often take a perfective prefix. Hesse explains the Old English compounds as more intense perfectives

[28] *Verba Perfektiva, namentlich im Heliand.* Leipzig. 1894.

[29] Wustmann disputes Streitberg's statement that a perfective present generally has a future meaning.

[30] *Perfektive und imperfektive Aktionsart im. ae.* Münster dissertation. 1906.

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or as analogical formations. There is no distinction between the simple and the compounded perfectives.

4. A few durative verbs never occur with the prefix *ge-*. The meaning of these verbs precluded a perfective meaning.

Lorz[31] examined *Beowulf* in his study of perfectivity in Old English. I give a summary of his results.

(1). Some Old English verbs show traces of original *aktionsarten*.

(2). Most Germanic verbs had taken on the durative idea in pre-Germanic. A few traces of the momentary action (*findan*), or of the terminative (*bringan*), remain.

(3). *ge-* plus an imperfective simplex made the verb perfective. *Ge-* plus an imperfective verb may give the verb the meaning of the local force of the prefix. A perfective verb plus the prefix *ge-* became a perfective or an intensive-perfective.

(4). Some perfective verbs (e. g. *gifan*) never prefix *ge-*.

(5). Some imperfectives never become perfective.

(6). The present of a perfective verb does not always indicate a future action.

We are concerned only with the relation of *aktionsart* to tense, especially to the future tense. I have tried to determine for myself what verbs use the present for the future, whether there is a sharp distinction in this respect between the two classes of verbs, and whether the present form of a perfective verb usually expresses future action. The results are as follows.

(1). In O. E. there are strong traces of the original distinction between perfectives and imperfectives.

(2). Both classes of verbs use the present for the future.

(3). The perfectives more often than the imperfectives employ the present form to denote future action.

We may take *Appolonius of Tyre* as an illustration.

The following verbs use the present for the future: *don* (p. 5, 8) *gebringan* (p. 7), *bringan* (8), *gifan* (pp. 7 and 16), *onfon* (8), *sillan* (9, 10, 22), *geberan* (9), *findan* (12), *gepencan* (12), *gefaran* (12), *becuman* (5), *gemetan* (12), *secgan* (16), *gedon* (16), *gestapelian* (19), *assendan* (20), *geceosan* (20), *blissigan* (20), *forlaetan* (22). I am unable to determine whether *ofpincan* is perfective or imperfective. If we count it as imperfective, the ratio is: perfectives 15; imperfectives 4 (*don*, *becuman*, *blissigan*, *ofpincan* [?]). Note the number

[31] *Aktionsart des Verbums im Beowulf.* Wurzburg. 1908.

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of compounded perfectives. From the evidence obtained from this study one would conclude that the distinction between the two classes was still strongly felt.

I examined *Beowulf* and collected all present forms with future meaning in this poem. The ratio is: perfectives 24; imperfectives 10. Here the distinction does not seem to be so clear as in *Appolonius of Tyre*. The situation is further complicated by the fact that an adverb or a conjunction of time accompanies the perfectives more often than the imperfectives. The predominance of perfectives in this use, however, is significant.

The perfectives are *niman* (441, 447, 452, 1481, 1491, 1846, 2536), *greotan* (1342), *leanigan* (1380), *gewyrcan* (1491), *forsittan* (1767), *forsworcan* (1767), *gefricgan* (1826, 2889), *bringan* (1829), *gepingan* (1837), *gegangan* (1846), *cwepan* (2041), *onginnan* (2444), *weallan* (2065), *weorpan* (2066), *acwepan* (2046), *wrecan* (2446), *geseon* (2455), *gewitan* (2460), *gesecan* (2515), *losian* (1392, 2062), *geteon* (2526), *drifan* (2808), *sceawian* (3104), *oferswypan* (279). The imperfectives are *herigan* (1833), *swefan* (2060, 2457), *hongian* (2447), *gyman* (2451) *sceacan* (2442), *wisian* (292, 3103), *hatan* (293), *libban* (954, 1224, 2444), *starian* (1485). *Gan* and *beran* may be classed as perfectives or as imperfectives. I am unable to classify *manian* and *myndgian*.

This question may be studied from a slightly different angle. Does the present form of a perfective verb generally express future time? Of the examples cited from *Beowulf* three express real present time: *gehyre* 290, *gehate* 1671, and *oferswypeð* 279 (present ?, or future ?). This evidence strongly supports the statement that the present form of a perfective verb generally expressed future time.

In the *Elene* the present form of the perfective verb occurs as a present and as a future. The ratio is: presents 2; futures 20. With the imperfectives the ratio is: presents 11; futures 14. Here, too, the evidence is strongly in favor of the statement that Old Eng. still kept the Ur-germanic distinction between these two classes of verbs.

We may approach this question from still another angle. In translating the Latin future is any distinction made between perfectives and imperfectives? I examined the first ten chapters of *The Gospel of Saint Matthew* (West Saxon) and collected all occurrences of the Latin future. The future occurs about one hundred times in these chapters. In the translation the present form of a perfective verb is used seventy-five times, the present of an imperfec-

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tive thirty-three, a periphrase (as an alternative translation) three times, and the construction is shifted once.[32] These facts point to the conclusion that strong traces of the original distinction between perfectives and imperfectives are to be found in Old English. This distinction, however, was not carried out with perfect consistency, for in some cases both classes of verbs are used to translate the same Latin future, apparently without any difference in meaning.

Since the evidence afforded by a comparison of the Latin original with the Old English equivalent is so valuable, I shall give the cases I have collected from these ten chapters.

	Latin	English	Kind of Verb
I: 21	*pariet*	*gecennes*	P
	vocabis	*geceig* (Imperative)	P
	faciet	*doeð* and *gewyrcas*	I, P
23	*habebit*	*Sceal habba* and *haefis*	I
	pariet	*gecennes*	P
	vocabunt	*geceiges*	P
II: 6	*exiet*	*ofcymes*	P
	reget	*ricses*	I
23	*vocabitur*	*geceiged bið*	P
III: 10	*mittetur*	*bið (sie) gesended*	P
IV: 6	*tollent*	*genimaes*	P
9	*dabo*	*sello*	P
19	*faciam*	*gedo*	P
V: 5	*posidebunt*	*agnegað*	I
	consolabuntur	*gefroefred biðon*	P
6	*saturabuntur*	*gefulled biðon* and *geriorded*	P
7	*consequentur*	*gefylges*	P
8	*videbunt*	*gesaes*	P
9	*vocabuntur*	*geceiged biðon* and *genemned*	P
11	*persecuti fuerint*	*oehtas*	I
	dixerint	*cwoeðas*	P
13	*evanerit*	*forworðes*	P
	sallietur	*gesalted bið*	P
18	*praeteribit*	*foreade-forgaes*	I, I
19	*solverit*	*untynes, toslittes*	P, P
V: 19	*docuerit* (2)	*lacreð*	I
	vocabitur (2)	*bið genemned*	P
	fecerit	*doeð*	I
20	*habundaverit*	*monigfallice* and *monigfalde worðe*	I

[32] In some cases the gloss has two translations for the Latin. This fact will account for the numerical disparity between the Latin futures and the English equivalents.

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	intrabis	*ingaes*	P
22	*erit*	*biŏ*	I
	irascetur	*uraeŏes*	P or I
	dixerit	*cweŏas*	P
23	*offeres*	*gebrenges*	P
	fueris	*bist*	I
26	*exies*	*ofgaestu*	P
46	*habebitis*	*sciolun habba*	
47	*salutaveritis*	*beadas-wilcyma*	I, I
VI: 1	*habebitis*	*nabbas*	I
2	*facies*	*doas*	I
4	*reddet*	*forgeldeŏ*	I
6	*orabis*	*gebiddes*	I
	reddet	*forgeldeŏ*	P
23	*fuerit*	*se* and *biŏ*	I
	erit	*biŏ*	I
24	*habebit*	*haefeŏ* and *scile habba*	I
	diligit	*lufaŏ*	I
	sustinebit	*hraefneŏ*	I
	contemnet	*geteled* and *forogas*	P
33	*adicientur*	*to-ge-eced biŏon*	P
VII: 2	*iudicaberitis*	*doemes*	I
	iudicabimini	*biŏan gedoemed*	P
	mensi fueritis	*woegas*	?
	metietur	*gewegen biŏ*	P
7	*dabitur*	*gesald biŏ*	P
VII: 7	*invenietis*	*infindes, begeltas*	P, P
	aperietur	*untyned biŏ*	P
	aperietur	*untuned biŏ*	P
9	*petierit*	*givias*	P.
	porriget	*raeceŏ, seles*	P. P
	porriget	*raeces*	P
	petet	*wilniaŏ, givias*	P
11	*dabit*	*geselleŏ*	P
19	*exciditur*	*gecorfen biŏ, gecearfas*	P, P
20	*cognoscetis*	*ongeatas, oncnawes*	P, P
21	*intrabit*	*ingaas*	P
	intrabit	*ingeonges*	P
22	*dicent*	*g(e)cweada*	P
23	*confitebor*	*ondeto*	I
24	*assimilabitur*	*geliced biŏ* and *geteled biŏ*	P
26	*erit*	*biŏ*	P
VIII: 7	*veniam*	*cymo*	P
	curabo	*gemo*	P
8	*sanabitur*	*gehaeled biŏ*	P
11	*venient*	*cymas*	P

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	recumberit	*gehrestas*	I
12	*eicientur*	*biðon gedrifen*	P
	erit	*bið*	P
IX: 19	*sequar*	*fylgo, sohte* (sic)	P
	ieris	*facres, gaes*	I
	eicis	*worpes*	I
IX: 15	*venient*	*cymes*	P
	auferetur	*genummen bið*	P
21	*tetigero*	*hrino*	P
X: 14	*receperit*	*onfoas*	P
X: 14	*audient*	*heres*	I
15	*erit*	*bið*	I
19	*dabitur*	*gesald bið*	P
21	*tradet*	*geseleð*	P
	insurgent	*arrisas*	P
	afficient	*ofslaes*	P
22	*eritis*	*biðon*	I
	perseveraverit	*therh-wunes* and *therh-wunia waella*	P
	erit	*bið*	I
	persequentur	*geoehtas*	P
41	*accipiet*	*onfoes, onfoeð*	P
	accipiet	*onfoes*	P
42	*dederit*	*selles* *sealla waella*	P
	perdet	*loseð*	P

To summarize briefly our study of perfectivity in Old English, we may say that the present was used as a future for both perfective and imperfective verbs. The present of a perfective more often than the present of an imperfective denoted future action. It would not be safe to say that the present form of a perfective verb generally denoted future action. The lack of an iterative category, as has been shown above, caused the use of the perfective present form as a real present.

The prefix *ge-* was almost the sole formal means of denoting perfectivity in Old English. Naturally, the loss of this prefix in Middle English destroyed any original formal distinction between the class of verbs with *ge-* and those without *ge-*. We still have, of course, imperfective and perfective verbs in English. Compare, strive, struggle: win (get by striving); O. E. winnan: gewinnan. English has lost all formal means of distinguishing between the two classes. Modern German, on the other hand, has formed new perfectives with the prefixes *er-* and *ver-*.

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The prefix *ge-*, says Van Draat,[33] was used indiscriminately to a great extent in late Old English. He gives examples which show that the simplex and the *ge-* compound could exist side by side with little or no difference in meaning. He adds:[34] "I might extend this list indefinitely, but I think that I have proved that, as early as the tenth century, the prefix, has, with few exceptions, become a meaningless appendage."

Wieck[35] traces the prefix from Old English into Middle English. His citations show that there was a steady and continuous weakening of the perfective force of the prefix. *Ge-*>*i-* in Middle English, and remained sporadically all through Middle English. In some cases, Wieck says, the prefix *i-* distinguishes the perfective from the imperfective simplex, but such a distinction is rare.

As I understand *aktionsart* in its relation to tense, formal differences between the various categories of verbal actions could be used to fill up the gaps in the tense system. Balto-Slavic best illustrates the use of these differences. Here the present of an iterative is used to express present time of a perfective; the present of a perfective is used to express future time; the present form of an imperfective is used to express present time of an imperfective verb; and, in the case of an imperfective verb, a periphrase is used to express future time.

We have seen that the same state of affairs existed more or less clearly in Gothic. The absence of a special iterative category, however, caused the present form of a perfective to express both present and future time. In Old English there are strong traces of this original distinction. The distinction between the various categories was much weaker than in Gothic, but it was still strong enough to indicate differences in tense. Naturally, when this distinction grew weaker, greater ambiguity would arise from the use of a present form to express both present and future, and clearer means of expressing futurity in contrast to the present would be demanded. It is significant that no Germanic language developed a periphrastic future (an unambiguous *future* expression) until after the weakening of this distinction had taken place. It is also significant that the modal auxiliary plus the infinitive, a combination

[33] *Englische Studien* XXXI, 353 ff.

[34] *Eng. St.* XXXI, 365.

[35] *Das Aussterben des Praefixes ge- im Englischen.* Darmstadt. 1911. (Heidelberg dissertation.)

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which was already in use (originally perhaps only with imperfectives, as in Balto-Slavic), and which had a strong future connotation, developed into a means of expressing futurity. While in Balto-Slavic this periphrase occurred only with imperfective verbs, in Germanic the periphrase spread to both classes of verbs, probably because of the absence of a special iterative category[36] and the consequent use of the present to express both present and future.

The lack of a special future form is one of the chief differences between the Germanic and the Balto-Slavic verbal systems, on the one hand, and the Greek, the Latin, and the Romance verbal systems, on the other. In the discussion of Germanic tenses this difference should always be kept in mind. The origin of the periphrastic future must be studied in connection with the loss of the distinction between perfectives and imperfectives. Though it will involve repetition of points already discussed, it will be well to quote a few sentences from Blackburn's discussion of this subject.

"In the other Teutonic languages [other than Gothic], this distinction, as a means of expressing the future, had to a great extent disappeared. No doubt the difference was still felt, as it now is, but with the exception of one or two cases, which seem to be survivals of the older usage, and which were used, no doubt, without any consciousness of their origin, there is no sign in any of them that the writers, in their rendering of the Latin future, had any clear sense of the difference between perfective and imperfective action.[37] In Tatian we find *vocabis* rendered by *nemnis* in 2.5 and by *ginemnis* in 3.4, showing that no distinction is made between simple verbs and compounds. The same results follow an examination of the oldest English translations, and in the other languages, as we have seen, the use of the present in a future sense was already on the wane, having been replaced in a great degree by the use of periphrase."

"Whether we should set the date of the beginning of the loss of this distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs as far back as the primitive Teutonic or assign it to each language separately after the division, is not, for our purpose, a matter of importance. It is plain that in the mother-speech the present was the normal way of expressing the future, that along with this the optative was also in use, though only ocasionally, and that a periphrastic form of expression could be resorted to in case of some special ambiguity or of a wish for special exactness in time. The distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs served to prevent the ambiguity in time involved in the double use of the present,

[36] Blackburn, *The English Future*, p. 20.

[37] The use of the present of a perfective verb as a future was no doubt on the wane, but my study of the translations of the Gospels has convinced me that there was at this time a more or less clear distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs.

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as long as this distinction lasted; how it may have been avoided in ordinary cases, after the distinction was lost, will be considered farther on."[38]

Blackburn studied translations from Latin in order to find out how the Latin future was rendered in English. His results may be summarized as follows:

1. The present indicative is generally employed to translate the Latin future.
2. The optative is rarely used.
3. A periphrase with *sculan*, *willan* or *magan* occasionally occurs.
4. Often the construction is changed, or a present tense is substituted for a future without materially altering the tense of the passage.

It seems reasonable to suppose that we must study the historical present in its relation to the periphrastic future. Both tenses must be considered in connection with the difference between perfectives and imperfectives in Germanic, and especially in Old English. Behaghel's theory, therefore, does not contradict the theory that the origin of the historical present is to be explained by a study of the future tense in Germanic.

What, then, is the relation of the historical present to the periphrastic future? We can only theorize about such a problem, but a study of the actual facts will make our theorizing safer and more plausible. The facts are as follows:

The historical present does not occur in O. E. or in O.H.G. In the later stages of these languages there are no examples of the historical present until after the periphrastic future had arisen.[39] This may be a meaningless coincidence, but we cannot dismiss the matter quite so lightly. It seems reasonable to say that the historical present, which indicates past action, could not be used so long as the present form of the verb was used to express general truths (timeless presents), real present actions, and real future actions. Ambiguity or confusion would have arisen. If we argue that the use of a modifying adverb would have made the meaning clear, we shall have to explain why all the Germanic languages did develop a periphrastic future. If this development was not for the sake of clearness, why did each Germanic language separately employ this mode of expressing futurity? It is true that our ancestors did not have

[38] *The English Future*, pp. 20-21.

[39] See Erdmann, *op. cit.*, 99 for the earliest periphrastic future in M. H. G., and Behaghel, *op. cit.*, 202, for the earliest unambiguous historical present.

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our strong feeling for tenses; but all speakers at all times must make their meaning clear, and in the easiest possible way.

Or to look at the matter from a different point of view, we may study the perfectives alone. So long as the present form of a perfective verb generally or frequently denoted future action, the present form of such a verb could not be used to express past actions.[40] If we reject this supposition, we shall be forced to explain why the historical present could not have been used with perfective verbs. If it was not avoided for clearness, why was it not used with this class of verbs? There was nothing at any period of the language to prevent this use.[41]

Of the various theories that have been advanced to explain the historical present in English the theory now under discussion, my adaptation of Behgahel's theory to the older theory which studies this phenomenon in connection with the periphrastic future, seems the most plausible. It demands a study of the historical present not as an isolated phenomenon, but in relation to the other English tenses, especially to the periphrastic future. Blackburn points out that the *shall* and *will* future arose in English between 1150 and 1200. If the historical present had developed before the periphrastic future, our theory would have to be rejected. But both in English and in German the origin of the periphrastic future antedates the use of the historical present as a linguistic phenomenon. We have seen also that those Balto-Slavic languages which have a clear form for the future use the historical present with the greatest freedom, and that those languages which had no clear sign for the future and which used the distinction between perfectives, imperfectives, and iteratives to fill up the gaps in the tense system, used the historical present not at all, or only under very restricted circumstances. We have seen that the basis of our theory is not so much the fact that confusion would have arisen through giving one form too many meanings, but rather the fact that the present form of a perfective verb, which generally or often denoted futurity, could not be used to express a

[40] This reason, of course, is different from the reasons given by the advocates of the theory that the periphrastic future had to develop before the historical present could arise. They argue that one form would have been crowded with too many meanings. If the last point I make is correct, this reason alone will explain why no perfective verb at least could employ the present form as a historical present.

[41] In this connection the use of the historical present in those Balto-Slavic languages which have a future form or a future periphrase is very illuminating.

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past action. This theory, moreover, has the advantage of explaining both the absence and the conscious avoidance of the historical present in Old English and its appearance in Middle English. This theory renders untenable the theory which explains the absence of this use of the present in Old English as due to a lack of imagination by Old English writers; it renders unnecessary the untenable theory of French influence. And, finally, it explains the same phenomenon in two closely related languages, English and German.

It is impossible to establish any theory with absolute certainty. It is entirely possible that two theories may be right. They may study the problem from different angles. This is the case, I think, with the two theories I have just discussed. The greatest difficulty in deciding upon the merits of the different theories is the fact that the historical present appeared after the development of the periphrastic future in English, after the loss of the distinction between perfectives and imperfectives, and after the Norman Conquest. By choosing any one of these elements and studying it to the exclusion of the others we may build up an elaborate theory. A glance at the various theories enumerated will show that precisely this thing has been done. We are left, therefore, to apply each theory to the facts and to use the facts as a means of testing each theory.

The main purpose of this study has been to collect the facts regarding the historical present in English. The theory was a matter of slighter consequence than the amount of space given to it would indicate. The reader may choose the theory which seems most plausibly to explain the facts. But whatever theory may be chosen, it must explain these facts:

1. The historical present does not occur in Old English.

2. It occurs in the Latin writings of Englishmen of the eighth-eleventh centuries.

3. The historical present is consistently and repeatedly avoided in translating from Latin into Old English.

4. This use of the present appeared in written English at the beginning of the thirteenth century; it became fairly common before the end of the century; and by the end of the fourteenth century was used with the greatest freedom.

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CHAPEL HILL

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ELIZABETHAN STUDIES: SECOND SERIES

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VOLUME XIV APRIL, 1917 NUMBER 2

FOREWORD

As a contribution to the Shakespeare Tercentenary last year, the April issue of STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY was devoted to essays on Elizabethan themes. The idea has seemed worth further development, and this year a larger volume is presented, with contributions from a number of scholars who are identified with research in the life and letters of the English Renaissance, and with the addition of a bibliography of important recent literature in this field. If these studies meet with favor, it is proposed to devote the April issue of the journal each year to a similar purpose.

Such a collection of essays has certain values quite apart from the merit of the contributions that compose it. A single great period is here studied from different angles. In this way these essays gain a totality of effect that would have been impossible had they appeared in a number of periodicals scattered through a dozen months. They suggest a coöperation in scholarly work that is capable of indefinite expansion. Such coöperation is a well-known and inspiring fact in the fields of scientific and historical research, and it is being greatly extended at the present time. Professor Fletcher, in his thoughtful address as president of the Modern Language Association, recently suggested that one reason why philological research has such slight influence on the thought of our time is that it makes small effort to relate itself to that thought. But the individual scholar can do little in isolation. We may learn from medical research the lesson that the enormous advances made toward the conquest of disease in recent years have been due in large part to collaboration among specialists profoundly interested in finding solutions for one or another of the problems confronting their profession. Recently, also, the same lesson has been learned by experts in chemistry, who have found how to relate research to life through coöperation in the effort to

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solve certain practical problems made acute because American industry was suddenly cut off from foreign sources of supply. And through similar collaboration it may be possible for us to find how humanistic study may justify its right to exist in a world in which all things of the spirit are now in deadly peril.

With the vast increase, in recent years, in both the resources and the materials of philological scholarship, we have almost reached, if indeed we have not reached, a period when a new synthesis of this learning is a fundamental duty. Such a synthesis may be accomplished, in part, by individual scholars who grasp the opportunity suggested in Professor Fletcher's address. In part it may be aided through the coöperation of groups interested in one phase or another of modern humanistic study. Greater impetus and direction might be gained, perhaps, through organization. To use an illustration suggested by the group of studies here presented, those who are especially interested in the different phases of the study of the Renaissance might well form an Elizabethan Society. Such a society, if formed, should have for its object not alone the production of monographs on Elizabethan literature. It should include in its membership those scholars who are interested in history as well as in philology. Its fundamental purpose should be interpretation: interpretation of the thought and life of a period of unexampled richness; interpretation of the vast accumulation of research that has grown up about this thought and life and that threatens now to bury it beneath mere impedimenta; interpretation of present problems by bringing to bear upon them the penetrating influence of such concentrated human experience. For example, the society should be interested not only in stage history and dramatic technique but also in the revival of Elizabethan plays in our colleges, in community pageants, and in other attempts to revive the impulse that created our national drama. This is but one illustration; others of perhaps greater significance might be given to show how scholarship, without losing any of its richness or impugning in any way its divine prerogative, may yet be brought into more intimate contact with life.

That radical changes in American education are at hand is beyond question. To think that the issue lies between compulsory Greek and compulsory vocational training is to start another profitless controversy between the Ancients and the Moderns and to fall into the blindest of errors. But that advanced scholarship, in whatever field, must emerge from its isolation and through both individual and coöperative effort

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contribute not alone to learned journals for initiates in the mystery but also to the life of our common humanity is as certain as that America must prepare to take her part in world affairs. In the new age now dawning in America, impulses that enriched the renaissance may once more become active. To foster such impulses is a duty of scholarship now as it was in the humanistic revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It might well be the privilege of an Elizabethan Society to initiate a new humanism.

E. G.

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THE MYSTERY OF LODOWICK BARRY

By W. J. Lawrence

All things considered, it gives no occasion for surprise that when, in odd moments, Jacobean London condescended to think of Ireland and the Irish, it was with a sort of half-amused contempt. Relying upon the evidence of her eyes, she estimated the qualities of the rebellious race by the characteristics of those of its blood she saw within her gates. What Churchill wrote, *longo intervallo*, in *The Rosciad* applies in some degree to the situation:—

> Long from a nation ever hardly us'd,
> At random censur'd, wantonly abus'd,
> Have Britons drawn their sport, with partial view,
> Form'd gen'ral notions from the rascal few;
> Condemn'd a people, as for vices known,
> Which, from their country banish'd, seek our own.

The truth is that in early Jacobean days, under stress of privation due to stern internecine tumult, a host of adventurous Munster Gaels had made their way somehow to London to earn a precarious living as costermongers, chimney-sweeps, and running footmen. It was of them that Dekker's Lodovico said, "Marry, England they count a warm chimney-corner, and there they swarm like crickets to the crevice of a brew-house." Although hot-tempered and occasionally vindictive, they were, as Lodovico's friend, Carolo, had perforce to admit, very loyal in their attachments. "By my faith, very proper men, many of them, and as active as the clouds—whirr! hah! and stout, exceeding stout." Their portraits peep out at us ever and anon from the time-stained pages of Dekker, Field and rare old Ben, delicate etchings bitten in with a shrewd and searching observation, sometimes with a tinge of asperity, often with a humorous appreciation, rarely (as in *The Irish Masque*) with qualities of caricature.

Events of note have a trick of transcending probability. It was certainly strange that Ireland, the Cinderella of the nations, should elect to send her first ambassador to the court of the Dramatic Muses precisely at a time when there were intellectual giants in the land and Shakespeare had reached the zenith of his powers. No pigmy, in good sooth, was this primal representative, although, if measured by the standard of the hour, of no very imposing stature. It may at least be accounted unto him for righteousness that for a brief period in that golden age he gained his meed of approval from the cultured,

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discerning audience of the Whitefriars. Only one play of his has come down to us, and there is reason to believe that, dying young, he wrote none other. Typically Irish in his qualities of adaptiveness and assimilation, his work strikes no exotic note. It is not of John Millington Synge and the Abbey school of dramatists that he was the lineal ancestor. *Ram Alley* is downright English comedy of the frank and free but withal wholesome Elizabethan order, and as such might have been signed by Middleton without exciting comment. We who are Irish cherish it now as the work of the first Irishman who inscribed his name on the beadroll of English drama, and proved a not unworthy precursor of Farquhar, Goldsmith, Sheridan and Shaw.

By an irony of circumstance this doughty pioneer lives in dramatic annals as Lodowick Barry, a name that was not his. It would seem as if the Goddess of Dullness, finding herself impotent to obscure his merits, and full of wrath that he should have flouted her altars, inspired some of her most ardent votaries to cast a cloud about his identity. Nor did the seed of her spite fall on barren soil. As will shortly be demonstrated, no more painful instance of senseless muddling with regard to the identity of a bygone writer is to be found in all the wide annals of literature.

In 1611,[1] and again in 1636 and 1639, there was issued in quarto, as having been divers times acted by the Children of the King's Revels, a lively clutch of "little eyases," whose haunt was mostly the Whitefriars theatre,[2] a bustling comedy of manners entitled *Ram Alley*; *or Merrie Trickes*. On the title page of all three impressions the play is described as written "by Lo: Barrey," a cryptic attribution which gave rise to all the subsequent blundering over the dramatist's identity. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, when Gerard Langbaine set about compiling his useful *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, he wasted no time in solving the problem of this mysterious "Lo:" but jumped to the conclusion that it stood for Lodowick. Nothing could well have been more wide of the mark. He had plenty of old plays to hand, and, if he had only turned to *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third* of 1594 or to *The*

[1] The play was entered on the Stationers' Registers on November 9, 1610, and may have been published a few weeks later. It was customary in the seventeenth century to date plays published at the close of the year a year ahead. The quartos of 1636 and 1639 seem to indicate a successful revival of the comedy.

[2] J. Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1588-1642*, I. 353.

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Weakest Goeth to the Wall, he would have found that the usual contraction for Lodowick was "Lod."

For long the ignoble army of dramatic historians followed each other like sheep after a bell-wether, with the result that Langbaine's spurious mintage came to be taken as valid coin. Not only that, but Anthony à Wood, the only man who arrived within measurable distance of the truth, has been scoffed at in our day for his striving after accuracy. Referring to the fact that in a catalogue of old plays published in 1656, *Ram Alley* was mistakenly assigned to Massinger, Wood writes in his *Athenae Oxoniensis* (1691): "All readers of plays cannot but know that *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks* was penned by the Lord Barry, an Irish Man, and that it was acted by the Children of the Revels before 1611." It is noteworthy that Wood was the first to make reference to the nationality of the dramatist. The curious thing is that while later authorities scouted the title he bestowed upon Barry, they based solely on him in asserting that Barry was of "gentle birth and extraction."[3] Since he was aware of the nationality of the dramatist, Wood must have had something better than mere guess-work to go upon, but even if his lack of knowledge had led him to interpret the "Lo:" of the quartos to mean "Lord," he would have been well within his rights. All who have had occasion to handle state or legal documents of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are familiar with the use of the contraction in this sense.[4]

To give material support to Wood's *ipse dixit* concerning Barry's rank and nationality is to go a long way towards solving the mystery of the dramatist's identity. This is a task of some difficulty but happily it can be accomplished. One item of evidence, ready to hand, has important bearing on the subject. Early in 1608 a certain Lording Barry, about whom nothing is otherwise known, acquired a controlling interest in the little Whitefriars theatre while it was closed, and sought to establish it on a firmer basis by casting about him for speculators who would not only be willing to become sharers in the concern, but would be disposed to subscribe additional sums for the reconstruction of the premises. In this he was at once successful, so much so that everything bade fair for the future prosperity of the

[3] See *The Dictionary of National Biography* under 'Lodowick Barry.'

[4] See *The Carew Manuscripts, passim*. Also *Shakespeare's England*, I, 275, fac-simile title page of Montaigne, 1603, reading "The Essays or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne."

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house. Evidence on the point is lacking, but it would appear that the Children of the King's Revels reopened the theatre about May with the new comedy of *Ram Alley*. We have indication in the epilogue that the company playing the piece had only just been established in the place where it was acted. The author defies malice but puts in a plea for the youthful players:

> And for ourselves we do desire,
> You'll breathe on us that growing fire
> By which in time we may obtain
> Like favours which some others gain.

In his prologue the author promised further plays attacking the Puritan spirit, but he is not known to have written more, and, in all probability, died within a year or two. Just, however, as the little theatre had got well under way an outbreak of plague caused a cessation of all acting;[5] and this, aided and abetted by a sudden distraint for rent, brought about an irretrievable collapse. Early in 1609, George Androwes, a London silk-weaver, one of the shareholders in the Whitefriars, believing that he had been induced to subscribe under false pretences, took action against Martin Slater, the actor-dramatist, in whose control the theatre and its company of boy-players had been placed. Androwes' Bill of Complaint[6] comprises a transcript of the curious Articles of Agreement entered into by the shareholders on March 10, 1607-8, and makes several specific references to "Lording Barry."

Apart from its value in throwing light on the somewhat obscure history of the Whitefriars, this document is of importance in pointing to the identity of the mysterious "Lo: Barrey." It is quite impossible that there could have been two individuals associated with the one theatre at the one time to whom this abbreviated designation could

[5] The disastrous effect of the plague upon the players at this period is referred to by Dekker in "Worke for Armorours" and "The Raven's Almanacke," both published in 1609. Save for a few days in December, the theatres were closed from July 28, 1608 to November 29, 1609. Possibly with the outbreak of the plague the Whitefriars boys went at once into the country, in accordance with the shareholders' Articles of agreement. This would account for the entry at Leicester on August 21, 1608 'given to the Children of the Revells xx^{s}' (Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, II. 310). Murray (p. 353) says these were the Queen's Revels, as no trace of the King's Revels is to be found in the country, but I am not convinced.

[6] Discovered about a quarter of a century ago by the late James Greenstreet, and published by him in the New Shakespeare Society's *Transactions* for 1887-1892, pp. 269 ff. in article entitled 'The Whitefriars Theatre in the Time of Shakspere.'

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have applied. Accordingly, the Lodowick Barry of Langbaine's imagining must give place to Lording Barry.[7]

Let us now see what was the significance of "Lording" in early Jacobean days. From the thirteenth century onwards the vocable was regularly used as a form of address, commoner perhaps in the plural than the singular, in the sense of "Sir" or "Gentleman." We find Shakespeare or another writing in *The Passionate Pilgrim* "It was a Lording's daughter, the fairest one of three." In his entertainment of *The Penates*, given at Highgate to James I and his consort in 1603, Ben Jonson makes Pan speak of the King as "this lording," and, in addressing himself generally to the distinguished assembly, ask, "What answer you, lordings?"

It may, furthermore, be pointed out, though beyond the present purpose, that as a diminutive of "Lord," the word was sometimes employed in a contemptuous sense. Thus, we find Stanyhurst, the Elizabethan chronicler, writing in his continuation of Holinshed, "The Lord Baron of Louth . . . was trayterously murthred by Mackmaughoun, an Irish Lording, about the year 1577."

There can be little doubt that as a title of courtesy, the term "Lording" was used in the old days much as "Honourable" is employed in England now. Broadly speaking, it signified a sprig of nobility. What we have to determine, therefore, in seeking a solution of this problem is whether any scion of the noble house of Barry lived for a time in London in early Jacobean days. Thanks to the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and to the calendaring of the abounding State Papers of the period, the matter is not one of insuperable difficulty, although it might readily have proved so had one allowed oneself to be misled by the blunderings of the old genealogists. As I shall now proceed to demonstrate, two brothers to whom the description fully applies were sent to England in their youth at slightly different periods at the dawn of the seventeenth

[7] Although several years have passed since I first entered upon this inquiry and all the details in this paper are the outcome of personal excogitation and research, I must needs concede that Professor Joseph Quincy Adams of Cornell has forestalled me in identifying the 'Lo: Barrey' of the *Ram Alley* quartos with the Lording Barry of the Whitefriars agreement. (See *Modern Philology*, IX, No. 4, April 1912, 567, art. "Lordinge (alias 'Lodowick') Barry." There is a curious parallelism in our reasoning, which probably goes to prove its soundness, but Professor Adams stops short on arriving at the erroneous conclusion that Lording was a christian name.

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century. One of these was undoubtedly the author of *Ram Alley*, and it only remains to determine which.

Here, then, is the not uninteresting story of the two Irish youths as pieced together from many sources. After being for some time actively associated with the Earl of Desmond in resisting the forces of the Crown, David, Lord Barry, ninth Viscount Buttevant, made his submission in 1593, and gained a pardon on no worse terms than the confiscation of fourteen or fifteen of his plough-lands, though it was doubtless gall and wormwood to him to find them given to his kinsman and enemy, Florence McCarthy Mor. Thenceforth throughout Ireland Elizabeth and her successor had no more loyal adherent. To win his rebellious brother John over to the English cause he gave him a goodly portion of his estates.[8] His defection made him the best-hated man in Munster. Despoiled by the insurgents, threatened with excommunication by the Pope and but ill-rewarded by Elizabeth for his allegiance, he still remained firm; so much so, that in February, 1600, Tyrone hurled at his head an epistle of magnificent invective in which he was stigmatised, justly, as a traitor to the Irish cause, and, unjustly, as a heretic.[9]

A conjunction of widely different forces brought about the sending of Lord Barry's two sons to London. As Secretary of State, it was part of Sir Robert Cecil's policy to encourage—perhaps one should rather say enforce—the rearing of sons of the Irish nobility in England, in order that they might become imbued with English prejudices and predilections and be persuaded to abandon their allegiance to the church of Rome. After experiencing several vexatious raids on his domains, Lord Barry, in November, 1599, made up his mind to send his elder son, David Oge Barry, without delay to Cecil; but owing to the lack of a convenient ship the project had to be delayed.[10] Shortly afterwards Tyrone swooped down upon the Barry country, burning everything before him as he advanced, and seizing or slaughtering 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 mares and garrons.[11] Fearing the worst, Lord Barry, in February 1600, sent his two sons into the fortified city of Cork for protection.[12] Of these David Oge Barry, born *ca.* 1587, was now about thirteen years old, while James, the

[8] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1599-1600, (1899), p. 492, No. 123.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 497, No. 130.
[10] *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1599-1600, p. 226, No. 5.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 495, No. 123.
[12] *Ibid.* pp. 481 and 489.

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younger son, born in 1591, was in his ninth year. Two months later, when the tension had slackened through the departure of Tyrone, James returned to the family roof-tree, but his elder brother was sent to London and placed in Cecil's care. With the vain hope of proselytising him, the wily Secretary of State handed young David over to Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster and head of Westminster School, who wrote to him from Chiswick on the ensuing 26th of July concerning his charge:

> I am informed by Mr. Barrie that it is your pleasure he should attend at the Court. I find him very willing to attend her Highness to the Chapel, if it may seem good to you; and I doubt not in a short time he will be conformed in all good orders, as a gentleman and a scholar should. I have sent one of my men to attend him, and to know your further pleasure.[13]

Notwithstanding the worthy Dean's assurances, young David Barry failed to succumb to the wiles of the proselytiser. In a letter from Cecil to Sir George Carew, under date August 2, 1600, we learn that the stripling, fortified by the support of a sturdy Irish retainer, had refused to go to church. Fearing complications, Cecil was astute enough not to press the point.[14] But one is inclined to believe that Barry eventually conformed.

Preserved in the archives of Hatfield House is an interesting letter addressed by the stripling to Cecil. It is undated, but the endorsement, "29 July, 1602," is sufficing. The following summary of its contents is given in the Historical Commission Report on the Salisbury Papers, where, however, it has been mistakenly attributed to "Samuel" Barry:[15]

> Has received Cecil's answer as to his father's suits and Cecil's pleasure that he should stay in England until Ireland were in better quiet. His father's country being altogether spoiled and waste, he is unable to maintain him. Is now refused credit, and does not know now to live. He therefore prays Cecil to remove him from Westminster, where he has outgrown the rest of his fellows, either to attend upon him at Court or elsewhere. His man paid 100 l. to the bank master in Ireland, and brought a bill to receive it here of Mr. Watson, yet he cannot obtain it. Begs Cecil to require Watson to obtain it.

This letter makes clear what had not before been fully apparent, viz., that young David had been placed on his arrival at Westminster

[13] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, The Salisbury Papers*, Part X. (1904), 246.

[14] *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, 1589-1600, 419.

[15] *The Salisbury Papers*, Part XII. (1910), 263. My thanks are due to Mr. R. T. Gunton, the librarian of Hatfield House, not only for examining the original document and assuring me that the name is clearly David Barry, but for sending me a tracing of the signature.

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School. But here we cry a halt so as to deal with the story of his brother James and arrive by elimination at the true author of *Ram Alley*. Owing to the blunderings of bygone genealogists particulars of James Barry are difficult to arrive at. One seeks in vain for any mention of him in Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland* or Burke's *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*. He was not unknown, however, to that great authority on the clan of Barrymore, the late Rev. E. Barry, who points out that James Barry's name occurs in two early Barry pedigrees formerly given to Sir George Carew, the one by David, Lord Barry, ninth Viscount Buttevant, and the other by Florence MacCarthy Mor.[16] But even Father Barry knew little about him. After stating that he was placed on Carew's care in Cork in February, 1600, he adds "but is not further heard of." Happily I am in a position to supplement these scanty details. In an interesting letter written by the boy's father to Cecil, on January 30, 1602-3 from Barry Court, we learn that James had just followed his elder brother to England.[17] Lord Barry begins by stating that in the late rebellion his territory was burnt and spoilt by the insurgents, with the result that the inhabitants had become so impoverished that many of them had gone abroad. (Here we probably have a clue to the presence of so many Corkmen in London in Dekker's day, and to the reason why the stage Irishmen of the time speak a Munster *patois*.[18]) "My land is wasted," he continues, "and I can scarce live; yet, to avoid the gross and ill bringing-up of this country, I have sent my second son thither to be educated with my elder son. These are my only sons." He also notified Cecil that he had remitted a considerable sum for the youths' upkeep. Subsequently the only definite trace we have of James Barry in England occurs in the Registers of the University of Oxford and is referred to as follows in Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis, 1500-1714*:

> James Barrie, Co. Cork *baronis fil.* Broadgates Hall, matriculated July 1st 1603,[19] aged 12, may be a son of David, Lord Barry, though not mentioned in peerage.

Foster's conjecture was sound. But it is vexatious that James Barry's subsequent history is mere matter of surmise. One thing,

[16] *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, VI (1900), Second Series, pp. 200-1, article on 'Barrymore.'

[17] *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1601-3, 563.

[18] Cf. *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1601-3, introd., xxiv-v.

[19] Cf. *Registers of the University of Oxford*, 1571-1622, ii, pt. 2, 1887, 266, where it is said that Barry signed in the *Subscr.* with a 'mark.'

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however, is certain: he cannot be identified with the Lording Barry of the Whitefriars Theatre. In March 1608, when the articles of association were drawn up, he was barely seventeen and could not therefore have entered into a legal agreement. One would also be disposed to argue that so worldly-wise a comedy as *Ram Alley* could hardly have been written by so young a man, were it not that one recalls certain instances of literary precocity, notably how Cowley wrote *Love's Riddle* before he had reached eighteen and while still a scholar at Westminster School. My impression is that James Barry, being a younger son and devoid of all expectations, remained in England and, recanting the Romish faith, took holy orders. There is some meagre evidence in support of this view. Among the manuscripts preserved at Trinity College, Dublin, is a poem entitled "A Funeral Elegy on King James" by J. B.[20] This has a dedication to Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, as if intended for publication.[21] There is also a slightly abbreviated copy of the poem in the Sloane MSS in the British Museum,[22] where it is signed "James Barrye." From the scriptural allusiveness of the dedication and the exudations of professional piety in the lines, the whole would appear to have been the work of a clergyman. The writer goes out of his way to belabour the Pope and the Gunpowder Plotters, just the sort of thing one would expect from a zealous convert. Mrs. C. C. Stopes[23] attributes the poem for no particular reason beyond the identity of name to James Barry, 1st Baron Santry (1603-1672), an eminent lawyer who is not known to have written anything save a legal treatise, and who was remarkable neither for his piety nor his poetic leanings. There is nothing in the Elegy to show that it was written in Ireland, as Mrs. Stopes implies, but the following lines indicate that the author was an Irishman:

> Nor was that all he did, his royall hand
> Hathe been victorious in a foreigne land,
> For though his predecessor did possesse,
> Some parte of Ireland, 'twas his happynesse,
> To gain it all, for that it may be sayd
> He was the first all Ireland conquered.

[20] MSS. F 4, 20 (652).

[21] 1625, April 4, there was entered at Stationers' Hall for Richard Ridmer, *A[n] Elegie vppon the Death of our soueraigne lord King James* etc.

[22] Sloane MS., 1394, p. 176.

[23] *The Scottish Historical Review*, April 1914, No. 43, p. 331, art., "Irish Praises of King James VI and I."

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And when he did doe that, had he but knowne
What a riche country he had made his owne
If not to settle there, yet well he might
At least have been persuaded to a sight.
But sure my country, 'twas thy master's happe
To see thee in a most deceiving mappe,
Yet he improved thee well, for what encrease
Of all good things hath his established peace
Produced in twenty years, I may say more
Then many hundred years had done before.

These would have been natural sentiments in the mouth of the younger son of the Munster nobleman, who, after his desertion of the Irish cause, remained loyal to the English crown in face of manifold discouragements, and even succeeded in imposing a rule of fealty to the king on his descendants.

But we abandon James Barry to the obscurity which is, perhaps rightly, his and resume the story of his elder brother. A few months before her death, Queen Elizabeth, in order to settle a dispute between the Poers and the Barrys as to succession, decreed that David Oge Barry should marry Ellis, daughter of Richard, Lord Poer, a command which was duly obeyed.[24] We do not know when the marriage took place. Carew, our only authority on the matter, gives no dates in his memorandum of the dispute, drawn up nearly twenty years later. But an approximation can be arrived at by determining the birth-period of David's son and heir, David Fitz David Barry, afterwards the tenth Viscount Buttevant and the first Earl Barrymore. Extant documentary evidence enables one to calculate that the child was born on or about March 10, 1604-5. Thus we have in the first case the testimony that at the period of the ninth Viscount Buttevant's death, on April 10, 1617, his grandson and successor was twelve years and one month old. Then, again, we learn authentically that when Richard Barry, the ninth Viscount's elder brother, (who, as a deaf mute, had been barred from the succession) died on April 24, 1622, his grand-nephew, David Fitz David Barry, was 17 years one month and 14 days old, and married.[25]

[24] *Carew MSS.*, 1603-1624, 391-2, No. 210. Carew's Mem. "The Title of the Lord Power to the Lord Barrye's honours and lands."

[25] *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, VI (1900), Second Series, pp. 85-6, article 'Barrymore' by the Rev. E. Barry, M. R. I. A. See also *ibid.* p. 201, extract from Indenture Inquisition taken at Youghal in 1624 wherein it is stated that David Fitz David Barry, on June 29, 1621, when he was 16 years 4 months and 14 days old, married Alice, daughter of the Earl of Cork.

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Sir William More (**19.** 21–**26.** 30; **30.** 33–**31.** 13; **117.** 21 ff.; **92** 1 ff.). The section on the eastern end (numbered 17a on the plan) was known as Liggon's Lodgings (**21.** 14; **119.** 40 ff.; **118.** 1).

18. *The Inner Cloister*, called also the Old[5] Cloister (**120.** 3), the Upper[6] Cloister (*The Antiquary*, xxiv, 119), and the south[7] Cloister (**3.** 15), was smaller than the Great Cloister, but its exact dimensions are not known. After the dissolution, it was granted, with various adjacent buildings, to Lady Kingston (**104.** 24 ff.). Later this property passed to her son, Sir Henry Jerningham, then to Anthony Kempe, and finally to Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain and patron of Shakespeare's troupe (**124.** 15 ff.).

19. *The Library* flanked the Inner Cloister on the east. It consisted of "the Great or Upper Library," the "Under Library," "and also two chambers and a cellar underneath the library which sometime was the Under Library adjoined to the Hill Garden" (**104.** 32-33). The exact dimensions of the building are unknown.

20. *The Hill Garden* adjoined the Library (**104.** 33), the Schoolhouse overlooked the garden, and the Provincial's Lodging was "super gardinum"; moreover the Schoolhouse, the Provincial's Lodging, and a part of the Library were granted along with the Hill Garden to Lady Anne Grey. All this serves to fix the location of the garden. It was called the "Hill" garden probably for the same reason that the Inner Cloister was called the "Upper" cloister and the Frater was called the "Upper" frater; all stood on the crest of the hill. (See **3.** 27; **104.** 33; and *Archaeologia*, 1912, p. 70.)

21. The building, presumably once a dormitory, at the south of the Inner Cloister was rented out by the friars as an independent lodging long before the dissolution of the monastery. It was at one time occupied by Lady Elizabeth Dentonys, who died in 1519 (*The Antiquary*, xxiv, 76). In 1536 the Prior leased it to Sir William Kingston, Lady Mary Kingston, and her son Henry Jerningham. Access to the lodging was had through "a way to the water-side, between the garden of my Lady Paycokes of the west part, and the garden of Richard Trice of the east part." To accommodate Sir William, the

[5] M. Feuillerat wrongly applies the adjective "old" to the Great Cloister.

[6] Possibly it was called "upper," like the Frater, because it stood on the highest level, from which the land sloped rapidly to the river.

[7] In the Survey of Cawarden's property (**8.**12 ff.) the term "South Cloister" is loosely applied to the cloister south of the church, i.e., the Great Cloister.

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doubts since no lands descended to her said nephew by the death of his father or of his uncle, whereby the infant's wardship might be in the Lord Deputy's disposition. She begs a letter to the Deputy ordering him to pass the wardship.[29]

A little earlier Lord Danvers had written to Salisbury maintaining that Lord Barry was an unfit person to have the wardship of his grandchild, possibly because he was a Roman Catholic.[30] It may be that some such consideration led to the cancellation of the original grant and the bestowal upon an outsider of the wardship of the child. Among the Chancery enrolments in the Irish Record Office I find the ensuing two items under 8 James I, (1611):

(1) King's letter to Chichester, the Lord Deputy, granting Viscount Buttevant and his daughter, Elenor, Countess of Ormond the wardship of David Fitz David Barry, son of David Barry deceased. Dated "the 3rd day of April in the 8th year of my reign." No previous wardship is recited or annulled, both of which courses would have been requisite had any such existed. (English)

(2) 14 April 8 Jac I. Grant to John Chichester Esq of the wardship of David Barry, son and heir of David Oge Barry deceased, son and heir apparent, while he lived, of David, now Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, for a fine of 5 l. and an annual rent of 3 l. English, retaining 30s. English there out for his maintenance and education (Latin).

When, then, did David Oge Barry die? Presumably within a period of about six months prior to the granting of the original wardship of his son. Note that while the Whitefriar's venture collapsed in 1608, it was not until November 9, 1610 that *Ram Alley* was entered on the Stationers' Registers for publication. Does it not appear as if the possessor of the prompt copy, say Martin Slater, took advantage of the recent death of the author to sell the play to a publisher? On that showing Lording alias David Oge Barry died in October 1610. He was very young, hardly more than twenty-four; and, whether or no the call came hurriedly, he left no will.[31] For all his youth there is little reason to doubt he was the real Simon Pure. One puzzle, however, remains to be solved. *Ram Alley* evinces on the part of its author an intimate acquaintanceship with legal procedure and with life in the Inns of Court. Whence all this specialised knowledge? Deep as I have delved I cannot find that David Oge Barry ate his terms at the Bar. Nor is it likely that as the heir apparent to an Irish viscounty he would have thought of following the legal profession.

[29] *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1611-4, 24.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] My thanks are due to Mr. F. W. X. Fincham, superintendent of the Department for Literary Enquiry, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, whose searches from 1604 to 1629 failed to be rewarded by the finding of any will.

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convenient doors . . . as shall be thought meet . . . to lead out of his said dwelling house into the said . . . lodgings and premises above demised" (28. 13 ff.).

In 1576 Cobham surrendered the lodging, and More was seeking a tenant.

Just at this time James Burbage was erecting the first English playhouse, the Theatre, in Holywell Priory to the north of the city walls—a large amphitheatre in which the professional actors could entertain great crowds of Londoners, and reap a rich harvest for their labors. Richard Farrant, as Master of the Children of Windsor Chapel, had been especially active in devising plays and training his boys for the Queen's entertainment, yet had received very little reward for his efforts. Being a poor man, and having a large family, he naturally cast about in his mind for some way of increasing his income. The professional actors, he observed, were growing rich from their performances before the public; and it occurred to him that he also might somehow arrange to have the Windsor Boys present their plays to the public. This, he thought, might be done under the guise of rehearsals for the court.

To follow the example of Burbage and erect a public playhouse specially for the use of the Windsor Children—royal choristers—was out of the question. Instead, Farrant decided to rent a small hall in some fashionable section of London, and there give performances which should be private rather than public in nature, and which should attract only aristocratic audiences.

Possibly his mind turned to Blackfriars because it had once been the seat of the Revels. Possibly his attention was directed to the Cheeke Lodging by his good friend Sir Henry Neville, now Lieutenant of Windsor. However that may be, on August 27, 1576, both he and Neville separately addressed letters to Sir William More. Farrant respectfully requested the lease of the Cheeke Lodging, and made the apparently innocent request that he might be allowed to "pull down one partition, and so make two rooms—one." Neville wrote urging that the Lodging be rented to Farrant, whom he recommended as a most desirable tenant. Neither letter hinted at the real purpose for which Farrant desired the lodging.[4]

[4] For these letters see C. W. Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*. Mr. Wallace's brilliant discoveries have cleared up the whole history of the First Blackfriars.

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After about a month's negotiation, on September 29, 1576, Farrant entered into possession of the rooms, although the formal lease was not signed until December 20 (Document IX). Probably he lost no time in fitting up his theatre in order that he might take advantage of the plays to be acted at court that Christmas.

The Lodging he thus secured consisted of two distinct units, the Buttery section at the north, 46 feet long and 25 feet wide, and the Frater section at the south, 110 feet long and 22 feet wide. Obviously he must have made his auditorium in the Buttery section, which, we may believe, he had in mind when he requested permission to "pull down one partition, and so make two rooms—one."

In constructing his theatre he took as his model not the large open-air amphitheatre which Burbage had erected for the professional troupes, but the halls at court in which the children were wont to act, and to which fashionable audiences were accustomed. His indignant landlord, More, tells us that he "spoiled" the windows, by which is meant, no doubt, that he stopped up the windows; for the performances were to be by candle light. At one end of the hall, probably the southern end, he erected a platform stage to be equipped with multiple settings after the court fashion. In the auditorium he placed benches. Apparently the room was not high enough to admit of a gallery; if one had been erected the exasperated landlord would surely have mentioned it in his list of complaints. Access to the theatre was had through Water Lane, thence through "the way leading to Sir William More's mansion," thence up Neville's stairs into the hall above (**30.** 16-33; **34.** 5).

This arrangement left certain rooms of the Cheeke Lodging unused, and the temptation of Farrant to let these rooms must have been great, although More had inserted in the lease a special clause prohibiting him from doing so "without the especial license, consent, and agreement of the said Sir William More . . . first had and obtained in writing" (**34.** 23 ff.). When Farrant leased the rooms without such permission, More at once began his efforts to regain possession of the property.

But a detailed history of the theatre—under the management of Richard Farrant, William Hunnis, John Newman, Henry Evans, the Earl of Oxford, and John Lyly—cannot be related here. Suffice it to say that at last, in 1584, More regained possession of the property, reconverted it into a lodging, and promptly leased it to Lord Hunsdon (**123.** 1 ff.). Thus the First Blackfriars Playhouse came to an end.

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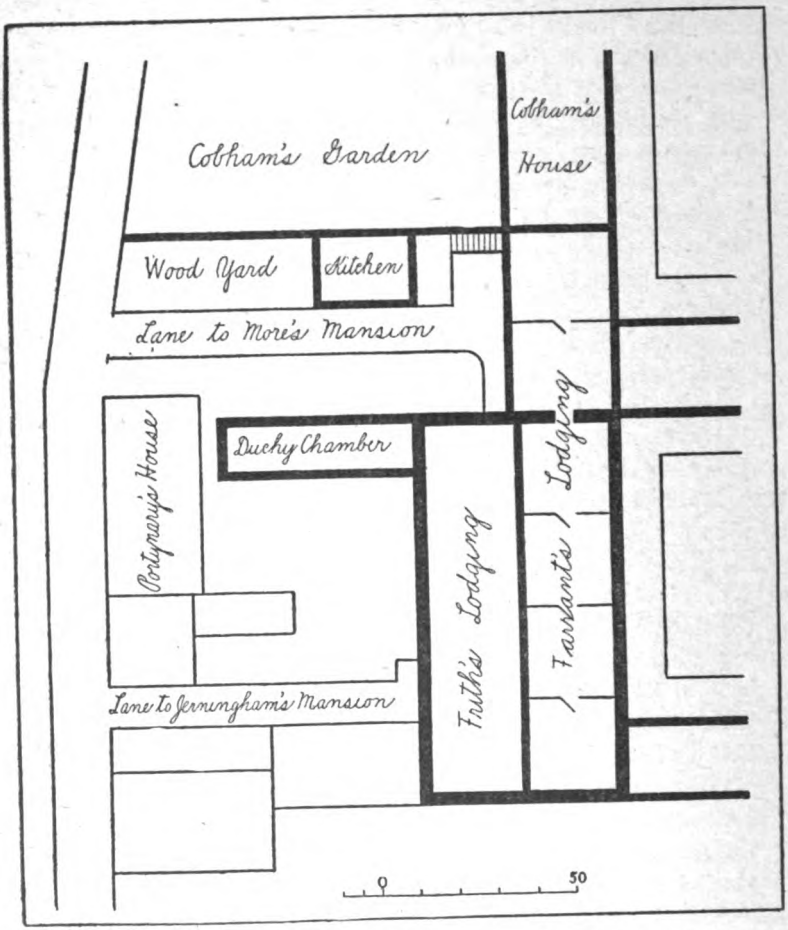

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE SECOND BLACKFRIARS PLAYHOUSE

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V. The Second Blackfriars Playhouse, 1596-1642

James Burbage had erected the Theatre, 1576, on ground which he had leased from Giles Alleyn for twenty-one years. In 1596 the twenty-one years were drawing to a close, and Alleyn was stubbornly refusing to renew the lease on acceptable terms. Burbage then conceived the idea of establishing in the precinct of Blackfriars a public playhouse superior to the Theatre and all the other open-air amphitheatres used by the professional troupes—a playhouse roofed in so that the actors and the audience could be protected from the inclemency of the sky, and made comfortable in the cold days of winter.

For such a purpose, in 1596 he purchased from Sir William More the several portions of the Frater building which had been granted to Cawarden; that is, all the Frater building except the Infirmary at the south, which Henry VIII had granted to Lady Kingston, and which was now in the possession of Lord Hunsdon.

The properties which Burbage actually secured were:

1. The great Parliament Chamber, occupying the entire top floor of the building, and extending over the Infirmary. This Chamber, it will be recalled, had previously been divided into the Frith and Cheeke lodgings; but now it was a single tenement of seven rooms occupied by the eminent physician William de Lawne:[1] "All those seven great upper rooms as they are now divided, being all upon one floor, and sometime being one great and entire room, with the roof over the same, covered with lead." (**60.** 32–**61.** 1). Up into the Parliament Chamber led a special pair of stairs which made it wholly independent of the rest of the building: "And also all that great pair of winding stairs with the staircase thereunto belonging, which leadeth up unto the same seven great upper rooms out of the great yard there which doth lie next unto the Pipe Office" (**61.** 7-10). The Pipe Office, one should observe, was that section of the old Cheeke Lodging which originally was a part of the Buttery, 46 feet in length and 25 feet in breadth. More had detached this from the Frater, of which it was no real part, and made it into the Pipe Office.

2. The former "Parlor" in the centre of the building—described in the sale as "the Middle Rooms or Middle Stories"—with two cel-

[1] His son was one of the founders of the Apothecaries Society. For further details as to the family see C. R. B. Barrett, *The History of the Society of Apothecaries of London.*

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lars under its northern end.[2] The Parlor—as now made into the tenement called "The Middle Rooms"—is described as being 52 feet in length north and south, and 37 feet in width (**61.** 25-36). Why a strip of 9 feet should have been separated on the eastern side is not clear; but that this strip was also included in the sale to Burbage we may take for granted.

3. The former Hall, adjoining the Parlor on the north, now made into tenements and described in the deed of sale as "all those two lower rooms now in the occupation of the said Peter Johnson, lying directly under part of the said seven great upper rooms" (**63.** 8-11). The dimensions are not given, but doubtless the two rooms together extended the entire width of the building, and were at least as broad as the Duchy Chamber building with which they were connected.

4. The Duchy Chamber building, three stories high, 50 feet long and 16 feet wide, "at the north end of the said seven great upper rooms, and at the west side thereof" (**62.** 19 ff.). At the time of the sale the second floor of this building—the Duchy Chamber proper—was occupied by Charles Bradshaw (**62.** 21); the ground floor was occupied by Peter Johnson, who occupied also the Hall adjoining on the west (**63.** 8-14); while the third floor was occupied by Edward Merry, who had also a room or loft "lying over part of the foresaid entry or void room next the foresaid Pipe Office" (**62.** 23-29).

Out of this heterogeneous property Burbage was confronted with the problem of making a playhouse. Apparently he regarded the Parliament Chamber as too long, too low, or too inaccessible for the purposes of a theatre. This section of his property, therefore, he kept for lodgings, and for many years the child actors lived there under the care of their masters. The Duchy Chamber building also, being small and detached from the Frater building, he reserved as a lodging.[3] But in the Hall and the Parlor he must have seen from the outset the possibility of a satisfactory theatre. Let us therefore examine these two rooms in more detail, and trace their previous history.

[2] This section may have been called "the Middle Rooms or Middle Stories" because it had rooms above and below (such was a common usage of the terms), or because it was the middle of three tenements.

[3] This may have contained the two rooms in which Evans lived, and the schoolhouse and the chamber over the same, which are described as being "severed from the said great hall." See the documents in Fleay's *History of the Stage*, p. 210 ff. In another document the schoolhouse is described as "schola, anglice *schoolhouse*, ad borealem finem Aulae praedictae" (Wallace, *Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, p. 40).

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The Parlor was described in 1572 as "a great room, paved" (**47.** 18; **48.** 2), and was said to have been "used and occupied by the friars themselves to their own proper use as a parlor to dine and sup in" (**43.** 29). In 1550, when King Edward granted certain portions of the Blackfriars property to Cawarden, we are told that "Sir Thomas Cawarden, knight, entered into the same house in the name of all that which the king had given him within the said friars, and made his lodging there; and about that time did invite this examinant [Sir John Portynary, who lived close by] and his wife to supper there together with diverse other gentlemen; and they all supped together with the said Sir Thomas Cawarden, in the same room [the Parlor] where the said schole of fence is now kept, and did there see a play" (**52.** 10 ff.).

Cawarden, however, did not long occupy the room, for Thomas Phillipps, who lived in the near-by Butler's lodge until about 1551, was allowed "to lay wood in the same [Parlor] as a waste room, to spend in his house" (**44.** 28).

Later, Cawarden leased the Parlor to a keeper of an ordinary: "One Woodman did hold the said house where the said school of fence is kept, and another house there by of Sir Thomas Cawarden, and in the other room kept an ordinary table, and had his way to the same though the said house where the said school of fence is kept" (**51.** 11 ff.).

In 1563 William Joyner established in the room the school of fence mentioned above, which was still flourishing in 1576 (**121.** 5).

When John Lyly became interested in the First Blackfriars Playhouse, he secured a lease of the Parlor, but for what purpose is not clear.

Later Rocho Bonetti, the Italian fencing-master, bought the lease from Lyly and established there his famous school of fence (**122.** 24 ff.). In George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence*, 1599, is a description of Bonetti's school, which will, I think, help us to reconstruct in our imagination the "great room, paved" which was destined to become Shakespeare's playhouse.

> He caused to be fairely drawne and set round about the schoole all the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Armes that were his schollers, and, hanging right under their Armes, their Rapiers, Daggers, Gloves of Male, and Gantlets. Also he had benches and stooles, the roome being verie large, for Gentlemen to sit about his schoole to behold his teaching.
>
> He taught none commonly under twentie, fortie, fifty, or an hundred pounds. And because all things should be verie necessary for the Noblemen and Gentlemen,

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he had in his schoole a large square table, with a green carpet, done round with a verie brode rich fringe of gold; alwaies standing upon it a verie faire standish covered with crimson velvet, with inke, pens, pen-dust, and sealing waxe, and quiers of verie excellent fine paper, gilded, readie for the Noblemen and Gentlemen (upon occasion) to write their letters, being then desirous to follow their fight, to send their men to dispatch their businesse.

And to know how the time passed, he had in one corner of his Schoole a Clocke, with a verie faire large diall; he had within that Schoole a roome the which he called his privie schoole, with manie weapons therein, where he did teach his schollers his secret fight, after he had perfectly taught them their rules. He was verie much loved in the Court.

We are further told that he took it upon himself "to hit anie Englishman with a thrust upon anie button." It is no wonder that Shakespeare ridiculed him in *Romeo and Juliet* as "the very butcher of a silk button," and laughed at his school and strange fencing terms:

Ah, the immortal passado! the punto reverso! the hai! . . . The pox of such antic, lisping, affecting fantasticoes!

At the date of the sale to Burbage, February 4, 1596, the Parlor, or Fencing School of Bonetti, had become "those roomes and lodgings with the kitchen thereunto adjoining, called the Middle Rooms or Middle Stories, late being in the tenure or occupation of Rocco Bonnetto, and now being in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Bruskett, gentleman" (**61.** 26 ff.).

To make his playhouse Burbage removed all the partitions in the Middle Rooms, and restored the parlor to its original form—a great room, covering the entire breadth of the building, and extending 52 feet in length from north to south. To this he added the Hall at the north which then existed as two rooms in the occupation of Peter Johnson. The Hall and Parlor when combined made an auditorium described as "per estimacionem in longitudine ab australe ad borealem partem eiusdem sexaginta et sex pedes assissae sit plus sive minus, et in latitudine ab occidentale ad orientalem partem eiusdem quadraginto et sex pedes assissae sit plus sive minus."[4] The 46 feet of width corresponds to the interior width of the Frater building, for although it was 52 feet on the outside, the stone walls were three feet thick. The 66 feet of length probably represent the 52 feet of the Parlor plus the width of the Hall.

The ceiling of these rooms must have been of unusual height. The Infirmary, under the Parliament Chamber to the south, was

[4] Charles W. Wallace, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, p. 39, note 1.

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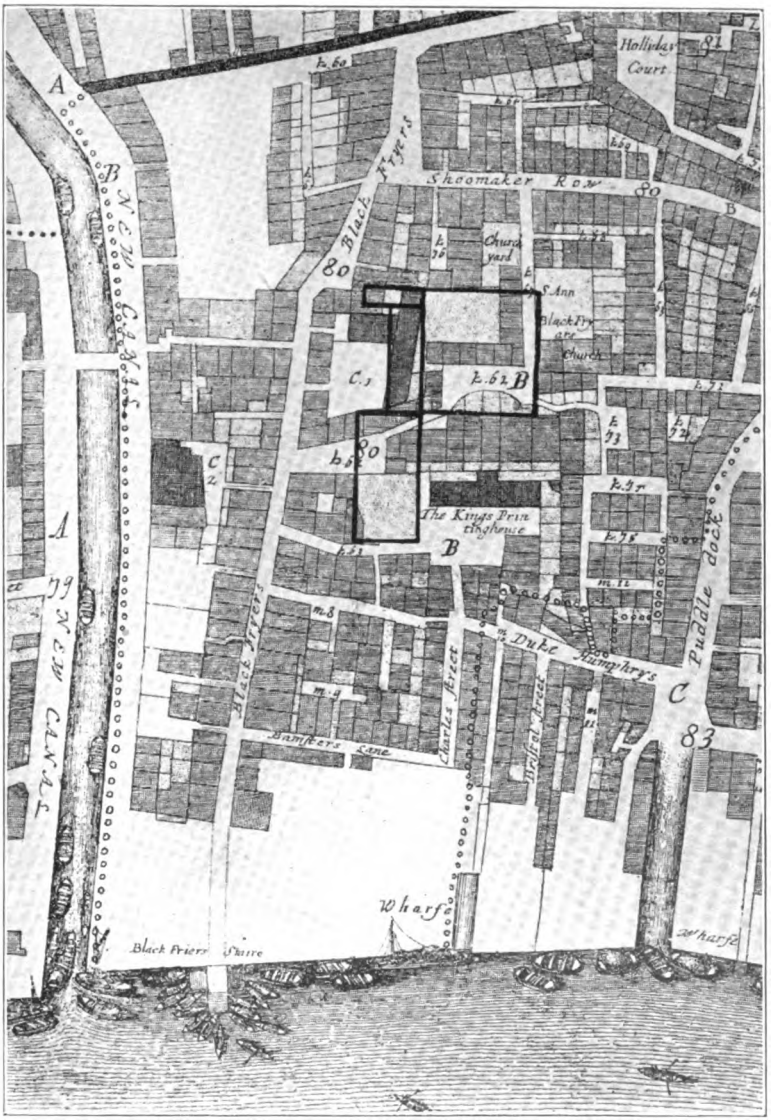

THE PRECINCT OF BLACKFRIARS, FROM OGILBY'S SURVEY OF LONDON, 1677.

(The author has indicated in heavy black lines the Great Cloister, the Porter's Lodge, the **Buttery**, and the Frater.)

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three stories high; and the windows of the Parlor, if we may believe Pierce the Ploughman, were "wrought as a chirche":

> An halle for an heyȝ kinge · an household to holden,
> With brode bordes abouten · y-benched well clene,
> With windowes of glas · wrought as a chirche.

As a result Burbage was able to construct within the auditorium at least two galleries, after the manner of the public theatres.[5] The Parliament Chamber above was kept for residential purposes. This is why the various legal documents almost always refer to the playhouse as "that great hall or room, with the rooms over the same."[6]

The entrance to the playhouse was at the north, over the "great yard" which extended from the Pipe Office to Water Lane. The stage, of course, would be erected at the opposite or southern end of the hall; and that this was the case is shown by one of the documents printed by Mr. Wallace.[7] Since this stage could not, as in the open-air amphitheatres, be illuminated by the sun, chandeliers were hung overhead. Gershow, after a visit to the Blackfriars playhouse, wrote: "alle bey Lichte agiret, welches ein gross Ansehen macht." The advantage of artificial light for producing beautiful stage effects must have added not a little to the popularity of the Blackfriars performances.

The history of the playhouse—in the hands of the child actors until 1608, and in the hands of Shakespeare's troupe from then until the closing of the theatres in 1642—cannot be narrated here. I may add, however, a note from the Phillipps's annotated copy of Stow's *Annals*, which gives us an account of the destruction of the building: "The Blackfriars players's playhouse in Blackfriars, London, which had stood many years, was pulled down to the ground on Monday the 6 day of August, 1655, and tenements built in the room."[8]

Cornell University.

[5] Mr. Wallace, *op. cit.*, 42, quotes from the Epilogue to Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*, acted at Blackfriars: "And now, my fine Heliconian gallants, and you, my worshipful friends in the middle region," and adds that the "reference to 'the middle region' makes it clear there were three" galleries. To me, however, it indicates that there were only two galleries.

[6] See the documents printed in Fleay's *History of the Stage*, pp. 211, 215, 240, etc. Mr. Wallace, *op. cit.* p. 40 ff., suggests that "the roof was changed, and rooms, probably of the usual dormer sort, were built above" the theatre. In this, I am sure, he is mistaken. But my interpretation of the documents and reconstruction of the theatre are entirely different from Mr. Wallace's.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 43, note 3.

[8] *The Academy*, 1882, p. 314.

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"PLAYENG IN THE DARK" DURING THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

By Thornton Shirley Graves

Some time ago I published a little note entitled *Night Scenes in the Elizabethan Theatres*,[1] prefacing it with the remark that I hoped the evidence therein contained would occasion "some slight modification" of the conclusions advanced by Mr. W. J. Lawrence in a more elaborate discussion of the subject.[2] Recently Mr. Lawrence, in a reply at some length,[3] has given my note more attention than it deserves; but since he has obviously misunderstood radically certain statements which I made, and in consequence has somewhat confused the issue, I feel that I ought, in justice to both him and myself, to restate my chief contention more clearly and to support it with considerable evidence, some of which was not in my possession when the original note was written.

This chief contention was this: Performances were sometimes given in the Elizabethan public, or open, theatres at such times of darkness (late afternoon and night) as to make imperative the use of artificial lights otherwise than episodically as "a factor of the scene"; therefore it is reasonable to suppose that, during certain scenes of such performances requiring artificial illumination, the stage was sometimes slightly darkened[4]—as it was in the private, or roofed, theatres—as a means of suggesting night to the spectators.

Now for the evidence which proves that plays were given in the public theatres at such times of darkness. I shall first discuss performances which began, or were in progress, at late hours of the afternoon during winter, after which I shall supplement the evidence already given by Mr. Lawrence and myself to show that plays were sometimes given at night in the regular London playhouses. To what extent such night performances were confined to private theatres, it is impossible to say.

Mr. Lawrence argues that my use of evidence indicating that the London officials objected to plays after evening prayers involves

[1] *Englische Studien*, 47, pp. 63 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, 45, pp. 181 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, 48, pp. 213-30.

[4] Probably by removing the stage lights or by shading them. Such a method, I admit, would have been clumsy and slow, but no more so than the "clapping down" of windows in the private theatres.

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a "serious misconception" of the term *evening prayers* (p. 221); and he even takes the trouble to explain that evening prayers were really afternoon services. That they were anything else never entered my mind. Mr. Lawrence will note that, when I asserted that "allusions to plays beginning after evening prayers are frequent," I was discussing performances at "late hours," not performances at night; and as a matter of fact when I made the assertion above, I had in mind the very passages—as my reference to Miss Gildersleeve's book indicates—which he has used to show that evening prayers were afternoon prayers. And plays after evening prayers, in winter at any rate, can truly be called plays at late hours.[5]

Now to show that plays really did begin after evening prayers on Sundays and holy days—when all persons were expected to attend services—both in London and the suburbs, and that some of these plays continued until "inconvenient time of night," it will be necessary to go rather fully into government regulations of the drama and to give the proper background to certain documents, which, quoted by

[5] Regarding the time of evensong, or evening prayer, during the Elizabethan period, there is considerable uncertainty. As long as the old canonical hours were observed, the proper hour for evensong was six o'clock; and some recent writers urge that this remains the proper hour for evening prayer. Others, however, argue that when the old offices were condensed into morning and evening prayer, no regular hours were fixed for saying either, the hours being left to the officiating ministers (Wheatley, *Illustrations of Book of Common Prayer*, ed. 1867, pp. 80, 195 note).

Whether the hours varied according to season, or whether they differed appreciably in cathedrals and parish churches, I do not know, but the statement by Harrison in his *Description of England* (ed. 1585, chap. i) to the effect that "times of morning and evening prayer remain as in times past" implies more or less regularity in the time of services. Now, from various sources of evidence, it seems that evening prayers during Elizabeth's reign commonly began about three o'clock. Bayne (*Shakespeare's England*, I, 62), discussing Edwin Sandys' articles issued in 1571 for the London diocese, says that the "due and convenient hours" set by authority for evening prayer meant generally "2 to 3 P. M." But certain evidence points to a later hour. William Percy's "Memorandum," for example, to his *Necromantes*, intended to be acted by the Children of Paul's, states that performances by the Children were "not to begin before foure, after prayers" and it will be remembered that Herbert and Nicholas Farrer very carefully observed in their prayers "the canonical hours of ten and four." Finally, Harrison in his *Description of England* (ed. Furnivall-Withington, p. 105) says: "For the nobility, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especially at great meetings, do sit commonly [at meals] till two or three of the clock at afternoon, so that with many it is a hard matter to rise from the table to go to evening prayers and return from thence to come time enough to supper."

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Mr. Lawrence without this necessary background, may possibly convey a false impression regarding the frequency of such plays at "late hours."

As is well known, Sabbatarianism in England is a Puritan product; and the period 1590-1642 gave forth a considerable number of treatises regarding the nature and observance of the "Sabbath." It is also a well-known fact that Queen Elizabeth considered Sunday to be of no more significance than any other holy day and to be observed accordingly;[6] and she actually vetoed a parliamentary bill for the stricter observance of the day.[7] As a result of the views of the Queen and of many officials high in Church and State, the "profanation of the Sabbath" was apparently never regarded as a very serious offence. Prior to 1580 Sunday was the regular day for public plays; and outside the jurisdiction of the city, Sunday performances were common throughout her reign. Heylyn in his *History of the Sabbath* is essentially correct in his statement:

I finde indeed that in the yeere 1580. the Magistrates of the Citie of London obtained from Queen Elizabeth, that Playes and Enterludes should no more bee Acted on the Sabbath day, within the Liberties of their Citie. As also that in 83. on the 14 of January being Sunday, many were hurt, and eight killed outright by the sudden falling of the Scaffolds in Paris-garden. This shewes that Enterludes and Bearebaitings were then permitted on the Sunday, and so they were a long time after, though not within the Citie of London; which certainly had not beene suffered, had it beene then conceived that Sunday was to bee accounted for a Sabbath" (ed. 1636, pt. II, 249).

Heylyn fails to mention the fact that apparently the Privy Council after the Paris Garden accident forbade Sunday plays in and near London, but he is right in affirming that such performances continued to be given; for violations of the Sunday law were common in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign,[8] as they were indeed during the reigns of James and Charles.[9]

If the Queen and crown officials were willing that plays should be given on Sundays and legislated against such performances largely out of consideration for the Puritan feeling of London, they were, on their own accord, consistently opposed to plays during divine

[6] Lewis, *Critical History of Sunday Legislation*, 98-99; Heylyn, *History of Sabbath*, II, 241-43.

[7] Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, I, 302.

[8] Gildersleeve, *Gov. Regulations*, 209; Thompson, *Puritans and Stage*, 106, 114-117, 120; Malone Soc. *Collections*, I, pt. 1, 64, 65, 68, 76, 80.

[9] Gildersleeve, 210; Thompson, 153, 188.

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services. This is brought out by the fine imposed by the Act of Uniformity of 1558 on absentees from services on Sunday; by the order of the Privy Council of 1571 to the London authorities,[10] stipulating that certain players be allowed to perform in "overt & open places," provided they did not act in "the tyme of devyne services"; by the Queen's license in 1574, allowing Leicester's players to perform in London and elsewhere at all times except in "the time of common prayer or in the tyme of great and common plague in our said Citye of London"; and by the traveling license to Lord Strange's company[11] in 1593, forbidding them to act during the "accustomed times of Divine Prayers." Apparently the Queen and Privy Council, especially the former, were not especially concerned when players acted, provided they behaved themselves and refrained from giving plays during plagues and divine services.

Under such circumstances, then, is it not certain that actors in the suburbs would naturally be inclined to delay their performances until after evening prayers, even though such performances in the winter would cause them certain inconveniences?[12] And that plays on Sunday were given in the suburban theatres during winter, there is no doubt. In 1580, for instance, it was declared that Braynes and Burbage "on the 21st day of February [Sunday] . . . and on divers days and occasions before and afterwards brought together and maintained unlawful assemblies of people" to hear plays at the Theatre.[13]

Further light on plays at late hours in public playing-places may be furnished by a discussion of conditions inside London.

Naturally, for financial reasons, the actors preferred to act during winter inside the London inns; consequently they attempted to get around the various regulations of the city authorities, who, obviously more opposed to plays on Sundays and at late hours than were the Queen and Privy Council, tried various methods of ridding London of players. Evidence of the hostility of the city is earlier than 1574, but in this year the Common Council passed the familiar order stipulating, among other things, that dramas were not to be given "in anie vsuall tyme of dyvyne s[r]vice in the sonndoie or hollydaie nor

[10] Harrison, *Desc. of England*, ed. Furnivall, IV, 318-19.

[11] Gildersleeve, 208.

[12] I am, of course, not arguing that plays were never given during the time of "divine services."

[13] Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, I, 30.

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receyve anie to that purpose in tyme of s[r]vice to see the same."[14] The actors, however, did not strictly obey this law. As the Council put it, they "did forbeare beginning to play til seruice were done, yet all the time of seruice they did take in people; wch was the great mischief in withdrawing the people from seruice."[15] As a result of this and other offences—one of which was obviously the duration of certain performances until an inconvenient time of night—the London authorities became greatly wrought up. In 1580, according to Mrs. Stopes,[16] the Common Council passed an order to pull down all the playhouses within the city; in July, 1581, they ordered "that preceptes shal be forthwith made and dyrected" to the various aldermen, specifying that "from henceforthe durynge the pleasure of thys Courte, they suffer no playes, Enterludes, Tumblynges, Pryces, or other suche publyque shewes . . . by any parson or parsons whatsoever";[17] and in the following November[18] the Mayor ordered the aldermen to command the inhabitants of their various wards to prevent "the setting up anye papers or briefes uppon anye postes, houses, or other places within your warde, for the shewe or settynge oute of anye playes, enterludes, or pryzes, within this Cyttye, or the lybertyes and suberbes of the same, or to be played or shewed in anye other place or places within two myles of this Cyttie."

The Privy Council was not satisfied with such drastic orders; hence in April, 1582, it requested that the city withdraw the "late inhibition against their playeing on the said hollydaies after euening prayer onely forbearing the Sabothe daie whollie." But the Council was willing to recognize the complaint of the city against plays during darkness, for it requested that the actors be allowed to perform "on the ordinarie S. Hollydaies after euening prayer as long as the season of the yere may pmitt and may be without daunger of the infection."[19] Two days later the Mayor replied that the instructions of the Privy

[14] Malone Society, *Collections*, I, 2, p. 177.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, 2, p. 171.

[16] Harrison, *Desc. of Eng.* ed. Furnivall, IV, 320n. With this passage should be compared Rawlidge's statement, in 1628, that about 1580 the City expelled the players and "quite pulled down and suppressed" the playhouse in its jurisdiction.

[17] *Ibid.*, 320. This is apparently a reference to the severe order which Miss Gildersleeve conjecturally assigns to the spring of 1582 (Gov. *Regulations*, 163-4. Cf. also Malone Soc., *Collections*, I, i, p. 52; *ibid.*, I, 2, pp. 169, 171.

[18] *Ibid.*, 321.

[19] Malone Soc., *Collections*, I, i, p. 53.

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Council, notwithstanding this concession, could "hardly be done"; "ffor thoughe they beginne not their playes till after euening prayer, yet all the time of the afternone before they take in hearers and fill the place with such as be therby absent from seruing God at Chirch, and attending to serue Gods enemie in an Inne; If for remedie hereof I shold also restraine the letting in of the people till after seruice in the chirche it wold driue the action of their plaies into very inconuenient time of night specially for seruantes and children." Notwithstanding this complaint the Privy Council, on May 25, again ordered the revoking of the "late inhibition."[20] The issue of the contest was probably averted by the ensuing plague. But in November, 1583, when the plague had ceased, the Privy Council again requested the city authorities to allow the players to perform inside the city; and it is noteworthy that they were willing to grant certain concessions. Plays were to be given only "vpon the weke daies and worke daies at conuenient times . . . (sondaies onely excepted) and such other daies wherein sermons and lectures are comonly vsed."[21]

As a result of the request the city authorities permitted the twelve Queen's Servants to perform at the Bull and Bell inns "and nowhere els wthin this Cyttye";[22] but they were soon obliged to cancel the permission, since, as they put it in 1584, "last yere when such toleration was of the Quenes players only, all the places of playeing were filled with men calling themselves the Quenes players."[23]

Naturally the Queen's Players objected; hence *ca.* November, 1584, they petitioned the Privy Council that, since "the yere beynge past to playe att anye of the houeses wthout the Cittye of London," they be allowed to act in the city "according to the articles" which were submitted.[24] The "Articles" have been lost, but one of the requests was obviously the privilege of playing in London on holy days after evening prayers. This is brought out in the objection by the city to the "second article" of the players: "If in winter the dark do cary inconuenience: and the short time of day after euening prayer do leaue them no leysure: and fowlenesse of season do hinder the passage into the feldes to playes: The remedie is ill conceyued to bring them into London."[25]

[20] *Ibid.*, I, i, p. 54.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.
[22] Wallace, *First London Theatre*, p. 11.
[23] Malone Soc., *Collections*, I, 2, p. 174.
[24] Malone Soc., *Collections*, I, 2, p. 170.
[25] *Ibid.*, 172.

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Is it not the fair and logical inference from this passage, considered in connection with what precedes, that the Queen's Men had been performing in the Fields after evening prayers, but naturally wishing to get inside London during the winter months, were complaining that such performances in the Fields were attended by certain inconveniences to actors and audience alike? And is it not further evidence in support of the contention above that the companies who did perform after evening prayers in the Fields during winter necessarily prolonged their dramas to "inconvenient time of night"? Be it remembered that the order above concerns only the Queen's Players. Various other companies were acting in the Fields at this period.

The city authorities, however, were unwilling to allow the Queen's Men to perform in London after prayers during winter; consequently, in the "Remedies" submitted to the Privy Council as a result of the petition of the players, they proposed:

> That no playeing be on holydaies but after euening prayer: nor any receiued into the auditorie till after euening prayer.
>
> That no playeing be in the dark, nor continue any such time but as any of the auditorie may returne to their dwellings in London, before sonne set, or at least before it be dark.[26]

This very clever double-barrel regulation, if adopted, would have prohibited all holy day plays in London during winter and all plays after dark; it would have gone a long way toward that total abolition of drama which the London authorities so much desired. But the passage above is not to be taken as proof that common plays "in the dark" were henceforth not given. In the first place, there is no evidence that the "Remedies" were accepted. And even if, as Strype thinks, they were accepted, or, as Miss Gildersleeve believes, some compromise was effected, it may be pointed out that in either event plays after evening prayers outside the jurisdiction of the city would not have been affected. In the second place, we know that plays during winter continued in London after 1584, and that some of them at least were given "in inconvenient times." In November, 1588, the civic authorities ordered Sir Rowland Hayward and others to approach the Privy Council in order "to move theyre honours for the suppressinge of playes and interludes within this Cittye and the libertyes of the same";[27] in the following November the Mayor complained of the contemptuous performance of the Lord Strange's

[26] Malone Soc., *Collections*, I, 2, p. 174.
[27] Harrison, *Desc. of Eng.*, IV, 322.

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men at the Cross Keys;[28] in February, 1592, the Mayor petitioned Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to come to the rescue of the city and protest to Tilney, Master of the Revels, who having been authorized by the Queen "to refourm exercise or suppresse all manner of players, playes & playeng houses whatsouer, did first licence the sayed playeng houses wthin this Citie for his Mats sayed service."[29] On the following March 6, Whitgift promised to comply with the Mayor's request;[30] hence on March 18, Sir Richard Martin and others were sent by the Mayor to treat with Tilney "for some good order to be taken for the restrayning of the players and enterludes within this Citie."[31]

Yet, in spite of all these complaints and protests, plays obviously continued in London at inconvenient hours, as is brought out in Lord Hundson's petition of October, 1594, stating that, whereas his players—obviously at the Cross Keys—had heretofore begun their performances "towardes fower a clock," they would hereafter, as a special concession to the city, begin at two, provided they were allowed to act at the Cross Keys during the coming winter.

Such are the cirsumstances which I had in mind when I treated very briefly in my original note the subject of plays at late hours. From this evidence, to summarize, it is clear that plays were sometimes given in London after evening prayers in winter; that the city objected to such performances "in the dark," but that their objections were sometimes ignored; that the Queen and Privy Council were apparently not so very anxious regarding plays in the darkness, provided the actors refrained from performing during divine services; and that actors, when they could do no better, performed in the open theatres after evening prayers on winter Sundays and holy days.

Mr. Lawrence (p. 223) accuses me of jumbling together in an unscientific manner data relative to the accustomed hours of performance at taverns, inns, public and private theatres, and argues that there must have been a measure of difference in the customs of temporary and permanent playing-places. He may also object to a similar jumbling together of data in the discussion above. But it must be remembered that the hours of performance in the cases just considered are not to be accounted for on the basis of theatrical

[28] Malone Soc., *Collections*, I, 2, p. 181.
[29] Malone Soc., *Collections*, I, i, p. 69.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[31] Harrison, IV, 322.

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custom. They are the direct result of government regulations which affected all performances of a public nature, whether in regular theatre, inn, inn-yard, or tavern.

Nor are the public theatre plays which began in winter after evening prayers on Sundays and holy days the only cases of "playing in the dark." Mr. Lawrence (p. 219), speaking of the hour of performance in Elizabethan times, says that the boundaries of performance "would be two o'clock to six, with a sliding scale according to the season." Now it may be noted that on cloudy winter days a play of average length which began even as early as two o'clock in the open playhouses would surely require artificial lights before the conclusion of the production.[32] But there is not a tittle of evidence that two o'clock was ever the *customary* hour for beginning dramas even in winter. On the other hand, various passages may be cited which show that the audience went immediately from the theatre to supper; and the extant evidence points overwhelmingly to three o'clock as the accustomed hour for plays on ordinary occasions.[33]

At this point it may not be amiss to discuss one bit of evidence bearing upon the question in hand. Mr. Lawrence (p. 220) cites a passage from Holinshed showing that on April 6, 1580, the spectators were still at the public theatres "about six of the clock toward evening," but he is apparently inclined to doubt the accuracy of the statement,[34] and he doubts if the testimony bears on winter performances. And why may it not bear on winter performances, if abundant evidence points to three o'clock as the usual hour for beginning plays? Let us cite here a passage by Sir John Davies, which has been erroneously

[32] That plays were given during winter at the Theatre, Curtain, Globe, Hope, Red Bull and Fortune, there is no doubt (cf. Wallace, *First London Theatre*, pp. 8, 17, 19; Murray, *Eng. Dram. Cos., passim*; Graves, *Court and London Theatres*, 36 note).

[33] I have discussed at greater length the matter of duration of plays and hour of performance in an article entitled *The Act-Time in Elizabethan Theatres*, STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, July, 1915.

[34] Note in this connection that Arthur Golding wrote a pamphlet entitled "A discourse upon the Earthquake that hapned through the Realme of Englande . . . . the sixt of Aprill, 1580, betweene the houres of five and six in the Evening"; and Munday in his *A View of Sundry Examples* (1580) asserts that the earthquake occurred "at 6 of the clock at night," and that the people came running from the playhouses "surprised with great astonishment" (*Shakespeare Soc. Publications*, XIV, 94). He states further that the Gentlemen of the Temple were at supper when the earthquake came.

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used by Malone and others to show that plays began at one. In Epigram 39, Sir John, speaking of Fuscus, says:

> "First he doth rise at 10, and at eleuen
> He goes to Gyls, where he doth eate till one,
> Then sees a play til sixe, and sups at seauen,
> And after supper, straight to bedd is gone
> . . . . . .
> Thus rounde he runs without variety:
> Saue that sometimes he comes not to the play
> But falls into a whore-house by the way."

It will be noted that Davies is speaking of the *general* routine of the man-about-town; and it is also to be noted that he is obviously speaking of the public theatres, for his epigrams were surely written after the first Blackfriars had gone out of existence (1584) and before the completion of the second Blackfriars. Nor is it at all likely that Davies had in mind the playing-place of the Children of Paul's, whose dramas at this time ended at six, to be sure, but did not start until four, after prayers. Fuscus could hardly have spent agreeably at Paul's the intervening time between one and four; at the Theatre or Curtain he could have passed away an hour or so in a manner congenial to his disposition. That spectators were admitted early to the playhouses is brought out by the complaints of the Common Council cited above and by the entertaining story told by Gayton in his *Notes on Don Quixot*, ed. 1654, p. 14.

I have given, I believe, evidence sufficient to show that artificial lights, surely at the fag end of public theatre plays, were imperative in a large number of instances. It remains to discuss at some length the reasons for believing that night performances were sometimes given in these same theatres.

I cannot understand why such expressions as "there is reason to believe that night performances in the public theatres were rather frequent in the days of Shakspere" and "from time to time by representing their dramas at night" have led Mr. Lawrence to believe that I am arguing for night performances "as an alternative norm."[35]

[35] Mr. Lawrence asserts (p. 224) that, when I accept Stubbes' "extravagant diatribe as gospel," I imply a regular custom of night performances; and he is certain that Stubbes' "daylie and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde" is "mere antithetical exaggeration." Now I am not aware that I accepted Stubbes' words as gospel; I said, and continue to say, that, if the fact of night performances in public theatres is established—and Mr. Lawrence admits that they did occur—

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The evidence for afternoon as the usual time for performances in the theatres is, of course, overwhelming. I am not interested in proving "an alternative norm." All I wish to do is to show that what the Elizabethans at any rate called "night" plays are "rather frequent"; for if I show that evening performances occurred at all in the public playhouses before either a public or private audience, that in itself invalidates Mr. Lawrence's original contention that artificial lights were never employed in the open theatres otherwise than episodically as a factor of the scene.

Before giving evidence, in addition to that already given by Mr. Lawrence and myself,[36] to show that night performances were given in the regular Elizabethan theatres, it will be well to discuss the Elizabethan use of the word *night*. This is necessary in order to determine the possible meanings of the various statements in the prologues, especially, of the period to the effect that the performance will be given "to-night" or "this night."

Harrison in his *Description of England* (III, ch. 14), discussing the English way of computing time, writes as follows: "Of the arti-

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then Stubbes' words cannot be cavalierly dismissed as a mere rhetorical flourish. Of course the passage is exaggerated. Usually such Puritanic denunciations are exaggerated, but I have observed from my reading of Puritan literature and from listening to the outbursts of certain American evangelists—the lineal descendants of Stubbes and his ilk—that whereas such persons are sometimes absurdly vociferous in their denunciations, they nevertheless always have some justification in actuality for these protests. Stubbes in his own day was ridiculed for his "ignorant zeal," but, as Furnivall, Thompson and J. D. Wilson all recognize, "no matter how extreme or laughable [his] words sometimes were, there was always behind them a real truth." So his description of "the kissing and bussing," "the clipping and culling," etc., at the playhouse is rhetorical and exaggerated, but Mr. Lawrence would not deny that it had behind it a real truth. Nor would he deny that dancing at night in Stubbes' time was unknown, when the Puritan extravagantly asserts that people "set up schools of it," and frequent "nothing els night and day, Sabaoth day and other." If this is true and if night performances *did* take place in the late sixteenth century, why dismiss Stubbes' "Night and daye" as "a mere antithetical exaggeration"?

[36] To the various allusions to plays at night may be added the uncertain statement made by Busino on Dec. 8, 1617. Describing his experience at one of the various London theatres, he writes that on "that very evening the secretary was pleased to play off a jest upon me." Then follows an interesting adventure with a well-dressed female who sat near him at the play (*Cal. State Papers, Venice*, 1617-1619, 67-68). Before one can speak with certainty regarding what Busino meant by a play "that evening," one will have to consult the original letter. This I have been unable to do.

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ficiall we make so farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the sun is up, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon." Quite naturally, therefore, the Elizabethans in winter would refer to five in the afternoon[37] as "night"; and frequently they would use the term loosely to refer to the period from five to six in fall and spring.[38]

When, therefore, we find in the prologue to a play the assertion that it will be given "to-night" or "this night,"[39] or a statement in an epilogue that the drama has been given "this night,"[40] the statement may mean that the play was given at late hours in the afternoon during winter; as for example, the words in the prologue to Jonson's *Epicoene*, acted by the Children of the Chapel in the winter of 1610. Again, the Children of Paul's began their performances at four o'clock or later; hence when Sir Edward Fortune in *Jack Drum's Entertainment* says that he saw "the Children of Paules last night," he may be referring to a winter performance; or, since Sir Edward is presumably speaking during the Whitsuntide period, he may be referring to a special night performance (after supper) during this time of festivity.

The use of the word *night*, then, in Elizabethan plays proves nothing in itself. The expression, as we have seen, may refer to plays in the late afternoon, especially in winter. On the other hand, if it is established that plays were sometimes given at night proper

[37] Cavendish, describing the entertainment given by Henry VIII to the French ambassadors, writes: "Thus . . . did thay spend the whole night, from five o'clock in the night, until two or three o'clock in the morning" (*Harleian Miscellany*, V, 153). Goodman (*Court of King James*, I, 163) speaks of five o'clock in December as "night." Burton's *Philosophaster* was acted on Shrove Monday "night," beginning at five o'clock and ending at eight (*Historical MSS Commission*, IV, 356).

[38] In the fall of 1631, the court decreed that one Wilson should sit in the stocks "from 6 of the clocke in the morning till six of the clocke at night" (Collier, *Annals*, 1831, II, 35). Ralph Josselin in his *Diary* says that the fire of September, 1666, "ceasd ye 5 at night" (Camden Society, 155). Wm. Lilly in his autobiography (ed. of 1812, p. 45), speaking of the spring of 1625, says that "about five or six of the clock" there would appear "every night" a large number of strange boys, who would go home "just as it grew dark." Sir Wm. Sanderson (*Compleat History*, 1656, p. 333), describing the riding feat of John Lepton in 1606, asserts that on "May 20 Monday he set out from Aldesgate at three of the clock in the morning, and came to York between five and six at night."

[39] *Epicoene, Staple of News, Wily Beguiled, The Elder Brother, Antipodes, Covent Garden Weeded, Chances*, prologues for revivals of *Custom of the Country* and *The Woman Hater*.

[40] *New Inn, Coxcomb, Little French Lawyer, Wit at Several Weapons.*

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in the regular theatres, and if we find occurrences of the word *night*, as in university and court prologues, referring to performances that were actually given at night, then it follows that the "to-night" or "this night" in the prologues and epilogues written for the regular theatres *may* refer to strict evening performances.

Mr. Lawrence writes (pp. 225-26): "If we could assume that night came in those days when candles had to be lit we could arrive at a reason for references to 'to-night' in contemporary inductions and prologues. Most of these references occur in private theatre plays and in the private theatre it was customary to light candles at the outset. A conventional method of expression would arise which would be generally adopted, in the public theatres as well as the private." And he remarks that the "conventional" use of the expression occurs in Restoration plays, citing the prologue to *The Rehearsal*:

> "Would some of 'em were here, to see, this night,
> What stuff it is in which they took delight."

Now for several reasons I cannot accept this idea, for I believe that the use of the expression during the Restoration was no more conventional than it was during the Elizabethan period. It is true that various references to "night" occur in the prologues and epilogues of Restoration plays,[41] but it should be kept in mind that these same prologues and epilogues may have been composed for evening performances. That evening performances were regularly given at the Cockpit at Whitehall during the reign of Charles II, there is no doubt, Pepys having attended such performances on various occasions.[42] Nor am I convinced that evening performances during the Restoration were confined to this theatre.[43]

[41] See, for example, the prologue to Otway's *Don Carlos* (1676), the prologue to Wilson's *Belphegor* (1690), the epilogue to Shadwell's *The Humorists* (1670), the prologue to Etheredge's *The Man of Mode* (1676), etc.

[42] See his diary under following dates: Nov. 20, 1660; April 20, 1661; Oct. 2, 1662; Dec. 1, 1662; Feb. 23, 1662-3.

[43] Is the word *night*, for example, used loosely in the contemporary account of the well-known intrigue between Wycherly and the Duchess of Cleveland: "She was that Night in the first Row of the King's Box in Drury Lane, and Mr. Wycherley in the Pit"? Is the author of the *Grammont Memoirs* certainly speaking of court plays or of gambling, when, describing events that took place a considerable time before 1667, he says that Killigrew and the Duke of Buckingham "generally sat down to dinner at four o'clock, and only rose just in time for the play in the evening" (Bohn edition, p. 297)? Is Mrs. Pinchwife, in Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (*ca.* 1673) supposed to be ignorant of London conditions, or to be referring

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Again, the people of the Restoration and early eighteenth century sometimes used the word *night* in pretty much the same way the Elizabethans used it to refer to late afternoon. To illustrate, the epilogue to Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*, acted on April 8, 1706, has the words: "All ladies and gentlemen that are willing to see this comedy, called the *Recruiting Officer*, let them repair to-morrow night, by six o'clock, to the sign of the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane." After about 1690, when plays regularly began sometime between five and six in the afternoon, references to the fact that performances will be given "this night" or "to-night" are frequent.

Under such circumstances, then, there is nothing very conventional about the use of the word *night* in the prologue to *The Rehearsal*, cited by Mr. Lawrence. This production was acted in December, 1671; and since afternoon plays regularly began at this date about half past three, or possibly even as late as five o'clock,[44] the word could well have been applied to a performance that continued until after sunset.

From what precedes, I think that we may reasonably conclude that the expressions "to-night" and "this night" found in the prologues of the Elizabethan and Restoration periods are not so much conventional expressions which arose in consequence of the lighting of candles at the outset of private theatre plays, as they are terms which were really confined to those performances which continued until after sunset or began after supper. In other words, they were the expressions of authors who really said what they meant to say.

Let us now consider the evidence for plays after supper in the regular theatres. I shall first give some general reasons why we should expect such performances.

Certainly the matter of precedent is worth mentioning. Plays at the universities, at court, and before private audiences at inns and

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to court plays, when she remarks (III, i): "Well, but pray, bud, let's go to a play to-night"? And finally, is the author of the 1701 life of Haynes using the word *night* loosely, when, in describing a trick played by Haynes at a public performance about 1673, he writes: "There happened to be one night a play acted called Catiline's Conspiracy, wherein there was wanting a great number of senators"? Similar passages can be cited, but these are sufficient for illustration. That Restoration plays sometimes lasted until a very late hour, in consequence of accident, etc., is brought out by Pepys' statement that on September 7, 1661, as the result of the late arrival of the king and the length of the play, Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* continued until "near nine o'clock."

[44] Lowe, *Betterton*, 16.

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elsewhere were given at night. Mr. Lawrence argues that evidence of this kind is not germane to the issue. I insist that it is. It is natural for the herd to desire the privileges of the select few; and any company of actors willing to inconvenience themselves, perhaps, in order to amuse the general public at an hour when the lords were being entertained would have met with an enthusiastic reception. Were not the gallants who had private plays at night following the lead of those higher up? And that the citizens of their own accord attempted to follow the practice of the lords is certain. During the festivities at court in celebration of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine in February, 1613, certain apprentices were arrested on a Sunday night while presenting Taylor's *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl* at the Whitefriars, which they had rented for the occasion.[45] At the same period the citizens presented Smith's *Hector of Germany* at the Curtain; and Fleay,[46] on what authority I know not, apparently says that the drama was acted at night.

Again, religious plays were sometimes given in churches and elsewhere in the evening. Rather uncertain are the two entries at Leicester for 1491 and 1492:[47] "Paid to the Players on New-years day at even in the church vjd." The plays at Skinner's Well and elsewhere sometimes lasted several days, the performances apparently continuing during a part of the night.[48] Chambers, speaking of the Newcastle-on-Tyne plays of *ca.* 1560, says they "were certainly in the evening."[49] In June, 1535, Henry VIII went thirty miles to see, on St. John's Eve, a dramatized version of a chapter from the *Apocalypse*.[50] On St. Olave's day (July 29) in 1557, a performance began in the church in Silver Street, London, at eight o'clock and continued until after midnight;[51] and sometime between 1613 and 1622 a play of Christ's Passion was given at Ely House "in Holborne when Gundemore [Gondomar] lay there, on Good Friday at night, at which there were thousands present."[52] Finally, Professor Baskervill, who has made a special study of the subject, assures me that at the midsummer festival and at church wakes, it was probably a

[45] *Anglia*, April 1914, pp. 148 ff.
[46] *Hist. London Stage*, 299.
[47] Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 376-77.
[48] *Ibid.*, 380.
[49] *Ibid.*, 385.
[50] *The Library*, February 1913, p. 402.
[51] Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 382.
[52] *Ibid.*

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common custom throughout England for people to present plays at night.

Mr. Lawrence was acquainted with the reference to the play on St. Olave's day "at night" in 1557, but remarks that "occurrences of the sort are not likely to have established any precedent." And pray, why not? When theatrical people later on could cite ecclesiastical precedent for their conduct, we may rest assured that they did it. As a matter of fact, sixteenth century plays on Sunday are survivals of Catholic precedent; and it was probably the result of ecclesiastical precedent that plays on Sunday and holy day nights continued at court throughout the reign of Elizabeth and James. And, as we shall see later, it was probably the result of these two circumstances that night plays in the regular theatres seem to have been more frequent on Sunday than on any other day.

Another reason for thinking that night plays were not unknown in the London theatres is the fact that performances at night by professional actors were frequent in other towns. In 1584 players acted by night at an inn in Leicester;[53] in 1598-99 the Norwich authorities allowed the Earl of Pembroke's players to perform, but forbade their playing "after nyne of the clocke on either night";[54] in 1618-19 the Lady Elizabeth's players acted at Plymouth "as well by night as by day";[55] in March, 1636, Mingay wrote from Norwich that the Red Bull Company were in town and "are well clad and act by candle light."[56] Provincial objections to night performances are extant. In 1595 the Canterbury "Court of Burgmote" complained of plays lasting until undue times of night, especially on Sundays, and decreed that whenever players act two days in succession, they "shall not exceede the hower of nyne of the clock in the nighte of any of those daies,"[57] and in 1634 the city bought off actors "to avoyed disorders and night walking"; the Chester authorities, realizing that "many disorders" sometimes happen "by reason of plaies acted in the night time," decreed in 1615 that henceforth no plays be allowed in the common hall;[58] some time between 1600 and 1622 the Worcester authorities ordered that "no playes be had or made in

[53] Murray, II, 322.
[54] *Ibid.*, 338.
[55] *Ibid.*, 385.
[56] *Ibid.*, 404.
[57] *Ibid.*, 233-34.
[58] *Ibid.*, 235.

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yeald by night time";[59] and finally a Shrewsbury order of 1594 forbade "any interludes or playes made within the towne or liberties upon any soundaye or in the night-time."[60]

In view of the conditions elsewhere, it would be a curious state of affairs if London, the center of Elizabethan theatricals, was exceptional in that it never experienced common plays at night. But there is the best of reasons to believe that the London authorities at an early date were opposed to public performances at night.[61] In view of the evidence above, it is surely an unfair straining of matters to interpret, as Mr. Lawrence is inclined to do, the expression in the 1571 order by the Common Council forbidding plays—"or ells at nyght of any of the same daies"—to refer only to "private performances in celebration of weddings, etc., which were invariably given at night" (p. 223).

Now why should the Council prohibit such night performances in 1571 and then pass regulations in 1574 and again in 1581 that surely did not specifically forbid such performances? There is only one possible answer—danger of the plague. Hence Mr. Lawrence argues that the 1571 order is a drastic plague regulation forbidding all performances whatsoever. There are several reasons why such an interpretation is not to be accepted: (1) the order is dated November 27, and plagues at this season of the year did not ordinarily cause much trouble; (2) the year 1571 was not a plague year;[62] (3) on December 6, nine days after the order above was given, the same body that issued it licensed Lord Leicester's players to act in the city "such matters as are allowed of to be played at convenient hours and tymes, so that it be not in tyme of devyne service"; and on the following January 29, the same body allowed Lord Abergauenny's players to perform in the city.[63]

Now in connection with this order of 1571 and the expression in the license to Lord Leicester's players just cited—"convenient howers and tymes, so that it be not tyme of devyne service"—let us return

[59] *Ibid.*, 409.

[60] Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, 453 note. For other references to plays at night in provincial towns see Bullen's ed. of Peele, II, 389, Dr. Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants* (1864), I, 33.

[61] An order against "playes" at night during Christmas season dates from 1418 (*Mod. Phil.*, Aug. 1916, p. 248).

[62] Murray, II, 180.

[63] Harrison, *Desc. of Eng.*, ed. Furnivall, IV, 318.

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for a moment to objections by the city at a later date to "playeing in the dark."

Mr. Lawrence, who believes that there was "evidently no real necessity" that the London officials should legislate against night plays, thinks that the "Remedies" of 1584 contain "no reference to the possibility of night performances by artificial light, a contingency undreamt of by the Common Council" (p. 222). Surely this is strong language in face of the quotations above. And Mr. Lawrence goes on to say that the "objection is simply to playing in the dark." Let us get before us the passage in the "Remedies" which Mr. Lawrence is discussing: "That no playeing be in the dark, nor continue any such time but as any of the auditorie may returne to their dwellings in London before sonne set, or at least before dark."

What distinction does Mr. Lawrence wish to make between "performances by artificial light" and "playing in the dark"? The expression quoted above means as clearly as an Elizabethan law can mean that the Common Council was objecting both to plays at night ("no playeing be in the dark") and to plays which began in late afternoon and continued until after nightfall ("nor continue any such time but as any of the auditorie may returne to their dwellings in London before sonne set, or at least before dark").

But if the London authorities objected to night plays, it remains to be proved that the Queen or Privy Council, who had jurisdiction over the theatres outside the walls of London, objected seriously to performances at night. So far as we know, all that they were interested in was that there be no plays during divine services and plagues, and that there be no disorderly conduct or seditious dramas at the various theatres. If Elizabeth and James were opposed to night theatricals, then it seems somewhat strange that they would issue licenses allowing players to perform at night in the provinces. That the players took advantage of this privilege, we have already seen. If court performances took place regularly at night, surely the English sovereigns could not consistently deprive their subjects of a similar pleasure so long as those subjects behaved themselves. What Queen Elizabeth thought of plays on Sunday night, at least, is brought out in the following passage from Neal[64] regarding the year 1585:

> The Lord's day was now very much profaned, by the encouraging of plays and sports in the evening, and sometimes in the afternoon. The reverend Mr. Smith M. A., in his sermon before the University of Cambridge, the first Sunday in Lent,

[64] *History of Puritans*, I, 302.

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maintained the unlawfulness of plays; for which he was summoned before the vice-chancellor; and upon examination offered to prove that the Christian Sabbath ought to be observed by an abstinence from all worldly business, and spent in works of piety and charity; though he did not apprehend we were bound to the strictness of the Jewish precepts. The parliament had taken this matter into consideration, and passed a bill for the better and more reverent observation of the Sabbath, which the Speaker recommended to the queen in an elegant speech; but her majesty refused to pass it, under pretence of not suffering the parliament to meddle with matters of religion, which was her prerogative.

That King Charles I was not averse to public entertainments in the evening is shown by his license to Davenant, in 1639, granting him the right to erect a large theatre and obviously allowing him to give evening entertainments.[65]

But let us grant—what has never been proved—that the Queen and Privy Council, like the Common Council, were hostile to performances at night in the regular theatres, and that such performances were as dangerous as Mr. Lawrence says they were. Even then it is reasonable to believe that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when laws against the stage were laxly enforced, officials would have sometimes winked at night performances. One of the common complaints against plays was that they drew apprentices and the like away from their work "to the great hinderance of the trades & traders of this Citie." Surely we may believe that Elizabethan London was sufficiently modern to possess tradesmen and officials, with the interest of the tradesmen at heart, who would have kept silent about night performances, which endangered the civic morality perhaps but did not interfere with trades and traders. If violations of laws against night performances were as common as violations of laws against plays on Sunday and during Lent, then night plays were "rather frequent" during the days of Shakspere.

As Mr. Lawrence points out, night performances would afford greater opportunities for mischief than plays in the afternoon would; but in connection with his statement that if night performances "were of any particular frequency," then it is surprising that "in all the many documents dealing with the abuse arising out of play-acting one never finds the slightest hint concerning the troubles they occasioned," various things should be borne in mind. In the first place, it does not necessarily follow that since plays were presented at night they occasioned especial disorder. On such occasions it is reasonable to suppose that extra precautions against disorder were taken. Nor is there

[65] Boswell-Malone Shakspere, III, 95.

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any reason to believe that the Elizabethan audience was more riotous than those audiences which about 1700 attended plays which began at six o'clock. Again, night performances were apparently not so very common after all, especially in London. It should furthermore be remembered that various documents dealing with the evils of acting have been lost; that certain documents already cited do surely hint at the possible dangers of playing in the dark in London and the provinces; that Mr. Lawrence has himself cited a reference (p. 226) which more than hints at the trouble arising from Bankside plays after supper; that Crosse in his *Vertues Commonwealth* speaks in no uncertain terms of the dangers of common plays at night; and that Prynne in his *Histriomastix* (p. 946) is apparently speaking of plays in general when he remarks that recreations to be lawful must "not be in the night season," adding that such are especially bad in that they are the "occasions, if not provocations unto workes of darkness."

Why plays were as infrequent at night as they were in the theatres outside the jurisdiction of the Common Council, one would naturally explain by saying that the Privy Council was also opposed to such performances. But until it is satisfactorily shown that this body was consistently hostile to night plays in the Fields and on the Bankside, I shall believe that the comparative infrequency of such performances was due not to legislation, but to the fact that actors and audiences in general considered the afternoon a more desirable time for the presentation of dramas. Sometimes, however, for special reasons, the players would naturally prefer to perform in the regular theatres after supper.

What are any special reasons for such a desire? It is perhaps worth mentioning here that actors would be inclined to present at night those public theatre plays which called for elaborate fireworks and similar spectacular effects. Mr. Lawrence (p. 228n) admits that certain evidence looks as if "fireworks plays were selected for night performances."

Of more importance is the fact that Sunday plays in the open theatres after evening prayers would, unless such productions were extremely short, have caused the actors and audience to postpone supper until an inconvenient hour. The actors, therefore, provided they were allowed to do so, would naturally be inclined to give Sunday plays after supper. Now are there any reasons why such performances would have been tolerated, or at least sometimes winked at, during the reign of Elizabeth and even during the reign of James, when

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Sabbatarian doctrines became more prominent and legislation more severe? I think that there are.

In a general way, it may be said that there were in England during the reign of Elizabeth and James two extreme religious parties: one, to which belonged the sovereigns and other prominent members of the Church of England, holding that the observance of Sunday was purely ceremonial and not made imperative by the Fourth Commandment; the other, to which belonged the majority of the Puritans, contending that Sunday was to be identified with the Sabbath and therefore to be kept *jure divino*. It was, of course, against the wickedness of the first party, who regarded themselves as "bound onely to the ceremonie of the day," that such persons as Quarles[66] and Dod[67] protested, when they argued that the Sabbath must be kept the full twenty-four hours and that good Christians after sunset on Sunday must not betake themselves to deeds of darkness.

Again, in a general way, it may be said that there were two[68] principal ideas regarding the beginning and duration of Sunday, or Sabbath, as the Sabbatarians called it: (1) Sunday began at Saturday evening and closed with Sunday evening; (2) it began with Sunday morning and closed with Monday morning. The canon law, following the old Hebrew and Athenian method of reckoning time, taught that Sunday should be observed from evening to evening; and we find in the *Decretals* of Gregory (Bk. II, tit. 9): "Omnes dies Dominicos à vespera in vesperam cum omni veneratione docemus observari." Now it is this idea that Sunday closed at sunset which explains why court entertainments were, as Hamon L'Estrange puts it, "time sans memorie . . . rarely on other than Sabbath nights"; and we have already seen what Queen Elizabeth thought on the subject. The canonists, then, to repeat, regarded a Sunday night play as no violation of the Lord's Day. Accordingly we can explain the surprise expressed in 1641, after Sabbatarianism had become powerful, that the Bishop of Huntingdon should be indicted "for suffering the said comedy to be acted in his house on a Sunday, *though it was nine o'clock at night.*"[69] It will be remembered that in 1640 Mr. Pierce looked to

[66] *Judgment and Mercy*, Works, Ed. Grosart, I, 90.

[67] *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, 1632, p. 132.

[68] Some thought that the Sabbath began at three on Saturday afternoon and should be kept until sunrise on Monday (cf. translator's preface to Prideaux's *Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1622); Baylee, *Hist. of Sabbath*, 131-2).

[69] Malone's Shakspere, Ed. 1790, III, 127 note.

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Parliament for two reforms: (1) the abolition of meetings of the Privy Council on Sunday afternoons; (2) the preventing of plays on Sunday evening.[70]

Nor were the Sabbatarians themselves agreed as to the limits of the Sabbath. After Bownd's famous book on the Sabbath appeared in 1595, perhaps the majority of them thought that the Sabbath included Sunday night, but this was by no means the only Sabbatarian belief. Bownd himself argued that Sabbath must be kept from morning to morning—not from evening to evening, as some contend—and he explains at great length that it should comprise Sunday night.[71] In this he is followed by William Perkins in 1613, who discusses at considerable length the question "When the Sabbath doth beginne"—a question, he asserts, to which "some doe answer, in the evening, and some in the morning."[72] But it must be remembered that John Smith in his Lenten Sermon at Cambridge in 1588 objected that "the plays at Saturday and Sunday at night were breaches of the Christian Sabboth. On Sunday, for that they were at it before the sun was set. On Saturday, for disabling their bodies for the sabbath duties."[73] It is also worth while to remark that Prynne in his *Histriomastix* argues at great length that the Lord's Day should be kept "from evening to evening" (p. 643), and he remarks that perhaps it is for this reason "that we have seldome any Playes or Masques at Court upon Saturday nights" (p. 642). In 1633, while in the Tower, the same author wrote

A Brief Polemicall Dissertation, concerning the true Time of the Incoation and Determination of the Lordsday—Sabbath. Wherein is clearly and irrefragably manifested . . . that the Lordsday begins and ends at Evening; and ought to be solemnized from Evening to Evening: against the Novel Errours, Mistakes of such, who groundlessly assert; that it begins and ends at Midnight, or day-breaking, and ought to be sanctified from Midnight to Midnight, or Morning to Morning.

But it must not be thought that this Puritan was willing for plays to be given after sunset on Sunday. In his *Histriomastix* he has written, after arguing that "Lordis dayes and holy dayes begin at evening":

Therefore all dancing, dicing, carding, masques, stageplaies, (together with all ordinary imployments of mens callings) upon saturday nights, are altogether unlaw-

[70] *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1640-41, p. 212.
[71] *Sabbathum Veteris*, Ed. 1606, pp. 103-4, 366, 372 ff.
[72] *Cases of Conscience*, Bk. II, Chap. 16.
[73] Strype, *Annals of Reformation*, III, pt. I, 496.

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ful by the verdict of the forequoted Councels; because the Lords day . . . is even then begun. Neither will it hereupon follow, that we may dance, dice, see Masques or Playes on Lordsday nights (as too many doe,) because the Lords day is then ended; since these Councels prohibit them altogether at all times whatsoever. But put case they were lawfull at other times, yet it were unseasonable to practice them on Lords day nights: For this were but to begin in the spirit, and end in the flesh; to conclude holy-daies & duties with prophane exercises; and immediately after the service of God to serve the Divell (p. 645).

Again, speaking of laws against Sunday plays enacted by Leo and Anthemius, he writes:

O that this godly Law were now in force with Christians! then Playes and Pastimes on Lords-day evenings, would not be so frequent; then those who served God at Prayers, and Sermons in the day time, would not so seriously serve the world, the flesh, the Devill, in Dancing, Dicing, Masques, and Stage-playes in the night, beginning perchance the Lords-day . . . in the spirit, but ending it in the flesh, as alas too many carnall Christians doe (p. 470).

And again he affirms that

it is impossible for any man to serve two different Masters—God in the Church, the Devill in the Playhouse; Christ in the morning, the Devill in the evening (folio 528).

Fuller in his *Church History* (ed. 1842, Bk. xi, p. 373), discussing this revival of Sabbatarian controversies in 1633, says that one of the unsettled points was when the Sabbath really began:

Some make the Sabbath to begin on Saturday night ("The evening and the morning were the first day"), and others on the next day in the morning; both agreeing on the extent thereof for four-and-twenty hours.

Discussing the view of the anti-Sabbatarians, he says (p. 375) that they "confine the observation of the day only to the few hours of public service," mixed dancing, masques, interludes, revels, etc., being "permitted in the intervals betwixt, but generally after evening service ended."

The question of the limits of the Sabbath was discussed much later than Prynne; Owen,[74] for example, in 1672, stating that some argue that Sabbath began with Saturday evening, others contending that it extended from "its own morning to its own evening." Vestiges, of course, of the practice of reckoning Sunday "from evening to evening" still exist.[75]

I have quoted Prynne at some length, because, whereas he may be speaking entirely of private plays on Sunday night, it is entirely

[74] Cox, *Sabbath Laws*, 325.

[75] See, for example, Cox, 309 note, and *Notes and Queries*, Seventh Series, X, 386.

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possible, in view of what precedes and the evidence cited by Mr. Lawrence and myself for public plays on Sunday evening, that he has in mind "common" plays as well as private ones at court and elsewhere. And in view of the facts that public plays on Sunday night certainly did sometimes take place, and that at least until Bownd's book appeared in 1595, Sunday night was not consistently regarded as a part of the Sabbath even by Puritans, we naturally wonder if the various Elizabethan regulations against "Sabbath profanation" and the orders prohibiting plays "wholly" on the "Sabbath days either in the forenoon or afternoon" really applied to plays given after sunset. We are curious, too, as to how actors and lawyers, even during the reign of James, interpreted the regulations concerning plays "on Sunday."[76] At any rate, such regulations did not apply to court plays on Sunday night; and there were hundreds high in influence who would have had no religious or theological objection to public plays "on Sunday at night." Such would not have been over-eager to enforce a law which expressly forbade "common" plays on Sunday night; just as the anti-Sabbatarians were not overzealous in preventing Sunday performances in the daylight, provided they were not held during divine services. And finally, who can tell how many productions which were really "common plays" were presented under the guise of private performances after those laws were enacted under James and Charles which forbade "common plays" after evening prayers on Sunday?

Such are the reasons for thinking that plays were given on Sunday nights in the regular theatres. Mr. Lawrence indeed believes that night performances were confined to Sunday. In this he is, I think, mistaken.

In the first place, it will be noticed that some of the special reasons given above for expecting Sunday night performances would also account for performances on holy day nights.[77] Again, I am inclined to believe that plays after supper were given on Midsummer Night, a

[76] Examples of where "Sunday" had to be interpreted may be cited. On May 7, 1594, for instance, the "Presbyterie of Glascow" ordained that Mungo Craig must not play on his pipes "on the Sondaye fra the sun rising till the sun going to" (Cox, *Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties*, 309).

[77] Note that at least when Davenport wrote his *New Tricke to Cheat the Devil* (1639) taverns in the city were, on holy days, compelled to keep "shut till sixe" (v. 2); in the Suburbs, where the law was not so well enforced, the taverns frequently opened at three.

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time which for generations had been a period for general festivity. At any rate the following incident should be considered in this connection. On June 23, 1592, the Privy Council, fearing another such outbreak as had occurred on the Bankside on June 12, issued an edict[78] commanding a strict watch, since

her Majestie is informed that certaine apprentyces and other idle people theire adherentes that were authors and partakers of the late mutynous and foule disorder in Southwarke . . . have a further purpose and meaninge on Midsummer eveninge or Midsommer nighte or about that tyme to renewe their lewd assemblye togeather by cullour of the time.

To avoid such unlawful assemblies,

yt is thoughte meete you shall take order that there be no playes used in anye place neere thereaboutes, as the theator, curtayne or other usuall places where the same are comonly used . . . untill the feast of St. Michaell.

When we remember that the disorder of June 12 took place about eight o'clock in the evening after the rioters had assembled "by occasion and pretence of their meeting at a play," the passage above seems to imply that the Privy Council was acquainted with assemblies at the Theatre and other "usuall places" on Midsummer Night. Perhaps it is worth while, in discussing evening plays at such a period of festivity as Midsummer Night, to note that Stow in his *Survey of London* says that on May Day the old citizens of London were wont to occupy themselves in various amusements "all the day long," and that "toward the evening they had stage plays, and bonfires in the streets."

Again, there is evidence that *new* plays were sometimes presented in the evening. In the second act of the play *Histriomastix* the actors rehearse "The Prodigal Child." A prologue "for Lords" and an epilogue are spoken, after which the following dialogue occurs:

Gulch: I, but how if they do not clap their hands?
Posthaste. No matter so they thump us not.
Come, come, we poets have the kindest wretches to our Ingles.
Belch. Why, whats an Ingle man?
Post. One whose hands are hard as battle doors with clapping at baldness.
Clowt. Then we shall have rare ingling at the prodigall Child.
Gulch. I, ant be played upon a good night. Lets give it out for Friday.[79]

It is possible, of course, that Gulch is using *night* loosely, but in view of what follows it is better to believe that he really means what

[78] Gildersleeve, *Gov. Regulations*, 179-81.

[79] Is this an allusion to plays on the evening of Good Friday? Note the tremendous crowd that saw Christ's Passion at Ely House on Good Friday evening when Count Gondomar was present (Chambers, II, 382).

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he says. On June 10, 1613, Daborne wrote to Henslowe:[80] "Before God they shall not stay one hour for me for I can this week deliver in ye last word & will yt night they play thear new play read this." On June 13 he wrote:[81] "I pray, sir, let me have 40s. in earnest of ye Arreighnment & one Munday night I will meet yu at ye new play & conclud farther the content." We have already referred to statements in various prologues and epilogues which may indicate that plays were acted at night. It is probable that some of these prologues and epilogues were written for first performances, and that these were "first night" performances. Webster, in attempting to excuse the failure of *The White Devil*, asserts that "it was acted in so dull a time of winter and presented in so open and black a theatre." May this not be a reference to the "first night" performance of a play in a public theatre? Apparently, *The White Devil* was acted at the Red Bull or Curtain, which were not so well equipped as the Globe, Fortune, and the private houses. Night presentation, a second-rate playhouse, and the language of a man who had produced an unsuccessful production would adequately explain Webster's "so black a theatre." One is not justified in using the passage to show that the better Elizabethan open playhouses could not be satisfactorily (to the Elizabethans) lighted artificially during ordinary weather.

Finally, the following passage, found in Henry Harrington's poem prefixed to the 1647 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, seems to indicate that the second performance, in which Elizabethan authors were especially interested since they shared the profits,[82] was sometimes given at night:

> By your leave, gentlemen: you wits o' the age,
> You that both furnish'd have and judg'd the stage,
> You who the poets and the actors fright,
> Lest that your censure thin the second night.

Such is the evidence which indicates that Elizabethan plays were given in public theatres at such times of darkness as to make imperative the employment of more or less artificial illumination; and I have recently discussed elsewhere[83] the probable nature and disposition of stage lights in the open theatres. Keeping this evidence in mind, let us, in conclusion, examine Mr. Lawrence's *general* objec-

[80] *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, 72.
[81] *Ibid.*, 73.
[82] Collier, *Annals of Stage* (ed. 1831), III, 424-25.
[83] STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, April, 1916.

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tions to lights in the public playhouses otherwise than "during the traffic of the stage."

First, he argues that artificial illumination would incur a "serious extra expense." But surely this extra expense occasioned by a sufficient number of cressets or "lamps" to light the stage of a theatre would not have been such a serious burden after all; it would not have been so expensive as lighting the private theatres by candles,[84] where the price of admission, to be sure, was considerably higher than in the public houses but where the audiences were likewise much smaller. Extra expense would, of course, not have been welcomed, but the actors would willingly have put up with it rather than to forbear acting after evening prayers[85] or to endure the objection which the audience would inevitably have raised at a "black" theatre. And while the cost of illumination for a single performance could not have been such a serious expense, it would have amounted to a considerable sum in the course of a year. That the actors of at least one public theatre so regarded it, there is no doubt. In 1635, the actors at the Globe asserted that the charges for hired men, boys, music, "lights," etc., at that theatre amounted to £900 or £1000 per annum, or about £3 a day (Murray, II, 159). Now if "lights" had been so exceptional as Mr. Lawrence would believe, surely they would not have been singled out for enumeration along with such regular and expensive items as hired men, boys, and music.

In his desire to show that artificial illumination was a rarity in the public theatres, Mr. Lawrence, it seems to me, is over-reluctant to accept the fair and logical interpretation of Cotgrave's expression, "cressets such as are used in our playhouses." The fact that two or three somewhat indefinite references[86] to the employment of cressets

[84] In 1639 the statement was made that the actors of Salisbury Court were allowed "halfe for lights, both waxe and tallow, which halfe all winter is neare 5s. a day" (Maas, *Eng. Theatertruppen*, p. 255). We may be sure that this represents a very liberal calculation on the part of the managers.

[85] To Mr. Lawrence's assertion that plays at night would have incurred extra expense for lights, it may be replied that the price of admission for such performances may have been raised. At least we know nothing to the contrary. Whenever a new play was given at night, we can rest assured that the price was raised.

[86] Mr. Lawrence cites an account of a 1554 celebration in honor of the marriage of Lord Strange to the daughter of the Earl of Cumberland. The passage seems to say that after supper a play called "Jube the Sane" was acted, "lx. cressets and C. of torches" being employed. It seems inconceivable that such an extremely large number of flaming and smoking lights would have been crowded into a hall,

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at private entertainments exist does not at all indicate that they were regularly used to illuminate private theatres. They are not the sort of lights to be expected in a closed auditorium; and in view of what precedes, before one can dogmatically restrict Cotgrave's reference as applying to private theatres only, one must do two things, it seems to me, which have never yet been done: (1) prove that cressets—like torches and candles—*were* used in private playhouses; (2) show that they were *not* employed in public theatres.

Again, Mr. Lawrence, in his endeavor to minimize the use of artificial lights in the public theatres, unintentionally gives a wrong impression when he writes: "That the players desired to make the most of natural light and thus minimize expense is shown by the fact that they constructed their theatres in the Fields and on the Bankside with open roofs and abundance of windows" (p. 220). No one will deny that they desired to make the most of natural light, but this was decidedly a minor consideration when the actors selected the sites of their playhouses and determined the architecture of their buildings. They selected "open" places because the authorities objected to theatres in crowded districts and because the sites in the Fields and Bankside were not only outside the jurisdiction of the Common Council but were cheap as well; and they constructed "open" houses largely for the reason that the authorities considered such structures less dangerous for the spreading of plagues.

Finally, Mr. Lawrence argues that a grave risk would have been incurred by the placing of a considerable number of naked lights throughout a large wooden building; and he is inclined to believe in this connection that the first Fortune[87] caught fire at twelve o'clock

no matter how large and well ventilated that hall may have been. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that "Jube the Sane" was an out-door tilting (*Juga Cana*). Cf. Camden Society edition of Machyn's Diary (p. 82) and Stowe's comment, *ibid.* pp. 342-43. Stowe says "lxx. cresset lights" were employed.

[87] Greg (*Henslowe's Diary*, II, 65) says that the origin of the fire which consumed the Fortune is unknown. Prynne (*Histriomastix*, folio 556) gives an atmosphere of mystery to the event, when he asserts that he will refrain from reciting "the sudden feareful burning even to the ground, both of the Globe and the Fortune Play-houses, no man perceiving how these fires came." Howes (Malone-Boswell *Shakspere*, III, 55) and Sir Richard Baker (*Chronicle*, ed, 1653, p. 615) are more specific, when they write that the Fortune was destroyed by "negligence of a candle."

That the fire started inside the theatre is made probable by John Chamberlain's statement (Malone-Boswell, III, 55) that there were "two other houses on fire, but with great labour and danger were saved."

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during a Sunday night performance (pp. 227-28). Now, in the first place, as I have shown in my note on stage lights, referred to above, there is no reason why naked lights should have been scattered throughout the body of the open theatre; they were probably confined to stage regions. And in the second place, whereas even naked stage lights were perhaps rather dangerous, we know that Elizabethan actors were entirely willing to take such risks. They risked repeatedly in more ways than one the anger of municipal and crown officials; they risked burning their private theatres when they consistently lighted them by a large number of naked lights; they risked burning all their playhouses when time and time again they employed fireworks in the "heavens" and elsewhere, and when they flashed flames from "hell" and hell-mouths; they burnt the Globe by firing chambers, and they continued to fire chambers after the second Globe was built. The Fortune was burnt by "negligence of a candle," and they rebuilt it of brick to lessen the chances of a similar accident perhaps; but there is no doubt that they continued to illuminate the stage of this very theatre, when occasion demanded, by means of naked lights.

Trinity College, N. C.

Did the Fortune catch during a performance? According to Chamberlain, the fire lasted two hours; and according to Alleyn, "this night att 12 of ye clock ye fortune was burnt." Alleyn may possibly mean that the building was consumed by twelve o'clock, after having burnt about two hours; but he more probably means that the fire started at about twelve. Now twelve o'clock is rather late for a public play to be in progress, though night plays at court and elsewhere sometimes lasted until even later. In view of the lateness of the hour, I am inclined to think that the candle which caused the destruction of the Fortune was being used by those who were dividing the receipts taken in at a Sunday evening performance. It was a regular practice to divide the "gatherings" after the play concluded (cf. *Actor's Remonstrance*, 1643; epilogue to Brome's *English Moor*; contract between Mead and Henslowe and a company of actors about 1613, *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, 24; Wallace, *First London Theatre*, 129, 142). Again, if the Fortune actually caught fire during a Sunday night performance, it is strange that Puritans such as Prynne and Beard, who made so much of God's judgments on Sabbath-breakers, did not make use of this "judgment" as they did the earlier one at Paris Garden. But it is equally strange that they neglected to mention that the Fortune burnt on Sunday, whether during a performance or not.

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HAMLET'S THIRD SOLILOQUY

By Tucker Brooke

The seven great soliloquies of Hamlet may be divided into two groups. Three of them—the first ("O, that this too too solid flesh would melt," etc., I.ii.129 ff.), the fourth ("To be or not to be," III.i.56 ff.), and the sixth ("Now might I do it pat," etc., III.iii. 73 ff.)—show the hero inert and over-reflective, inclined to toy with the idea of suicide, to overlook the responsibilities of life, and speculate in an unhealthy manner on existence beyond the grave. Indeed, the fourth soliloquy—the famous "To be or not to be"—marks the lowest intellectual level reached by Hamlet. The complete selfishness of the argument, the refusal to recognize any duty to live for the sake of his mission, and the astonishing "bestial oblivion" evidenced by the allusion to

> The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns

on the tongue of one who has recently spoken with his own father's ghost—these all shock the attentive reader and show the speaker's intelligence at its nadir. Such, I think, was clearly Shakespeare's intention; and despite the rhetorical brilliance of the lines when taken absolutely, the critic may well be pardoned a cynical amusement at the fact that just this speech and Polonius's fatuous advice to his son—advice very worthy of Lord Chesterfield—should be enshrined in the memory of the general public as particular gems of Shakespearian wisdom.

The three soliloquies just mentioned are all the product of a relatively quiescent frame of mind. The first is uttered before Hamlet has learned of his father's murder; the fourth is spoken in the quiet of the morning (?) before the play; while in the sixth, though the presence of Claudius disturbs Hamlet's conscience, the motionless and suppliant posture of the King evidently acts as a check on the speaker's emotions.

In the four other soliloquies we see Hamlet in far more normal and admirable moods, and each of these soliloquies is produced by a state of special excitement. The second immediately follows the exit of the Ghost, the third is inspired by the Player's moving declamation, the fifth follows the success of the "Mousetrap," and the seventh is evoked by the impressive sight of Fortinbras and his army. This

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last soliloquy is certainly the finest in the play, and it gives ground for the idea that Hamlet's tragedy arises not from the excessive postponement but from the too early development of the crisis. The fine words about the purposes of "god-like reason," the clear sense of personal power, the sympathetic appreciation of Fortinbras's spirit, coupled with the discriminating realization of what it is "Rightly to be great," evidence that "slight thinning of the dark cloud of melancholy," which Professor Bradley thinks he observes in the following (fifth) act.

Now this last soliloquy is a close and doubtless intentional counterpart of the third, which I wish more particularly to discuss. Both speeches mark a psychological progress from intense self-dissatisfaction and even self-abuse ("How all occasions do inform against me!"—"O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I!"), through elaborate self-analysis, to self-confidence; and each ends with an almost triumphant declaration of the speaker's practical resolution:—

> O, from this time forth
> My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth!
>
> The play's the thing,
> Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king.

In these two speeches, which represent a wider intellectual range than any other in the play, is to be found the surest key to Hamlet's mental difficulty; and the clue is most distinct in the earlier, which is the longer—indeed much the longest of all the soliloquies.

In the third soliloquy I find confirmation of Professor Bradley's theory of Hamlet's melancholy, of which that most careful critic seems inobservant. Indeed, it is strange to find that Professor Bradley and his most determined opponent, Mr. W. F. Trench, who thinks Hamlet definitely mad, occupy the same ground in their interpretation of the vastly important conclusion of the third soliloquy, where Hamlet resolves to test the King's guilt by means of the "Mousetrap."

Professor Bradley writes (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 131):—"Nothing, surely, can be clearer than the meaning of this famous soliloquy. (*Sic!*) The doubt which appears at its close, instead of being the natural conclusion of the preceding thoughts, is totally inconsistent with them. For Hamlet's self-reproaches, his curses on his enemy, and his perplexity about his own inaction, one and all imply his faith in the identity and truthfulness of the Ghost. *Evidently this sudden doubt, of which there has not been the slightest*

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trace before, is no genuine doubt; it is an unconscious fiction, an excuse for his delay—and for its continuance."

Mr. Trench's explanation is essentially the same (*Shakespeare's Hamlet*, p. 126):—

"The doubt upon this point (i.e. the King's guilt) is a supposititious doubt invented to excuse the substitution of another sort of action for the action that is required."

Now in the case of that other artist in soliloquies, Iago, we are accustomed to discount the probability of conscious or unconscious insincerity; but Hamlet is a very different character, and Shakespeare's dramatic problem is in his case altogether different. Iago's various insincerities mutually confute and explain one another and are explained by his many actions; but Hamlet does not thus interpret his words by the constant comment of action, and I can find no other instance in which his words seem intended to be taken at less than their full face value.

The idea, then, that Shakespeare ventured upon the hazardous expedient of requiring his auditors to understand the eloquent conclusion of this most elaborate soliloquy in a Pickwickian sense, as "no genuine doubt" or as "supposititious," would seem allowable only as a last resort after failure to discover any logical reason for the words. I cannot at all agree with Professor Bradley's assumption that the doubt about the King's guilt, "instead of being the natural conclusion of the preceding thoughts, is totally inconsistent with them." Let us consider the third soliloquy as a whole and in connection with the feelings which prompted it.

The speech is Hamlet's reaction on the Player's declamation concerning the death of Priam. In introducing that declamation, Shakespeare seems to have been actuated by three motives, of which the first two have been noted by the critics. I do not remember, however, to have seen any mention of the third and most important. Certainly, it is ignored by Professor Bradley and Mr. Trench, whose difficulties regarding the following soliloquy can thus, I think, be accounted for.

The dramatic purposes of the "rugged Pyrrhus" declamation appear to be:—

1. It continues the rather good-natured protest concerning the "little eyases" of the Queen's Chapel by an obvious, though not very uncomplimentary parody of the turgid lines on the death of Priam in their play of *Dido* (by Marlowe and Nashe).

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2. The Pyrrhus-Priam-Hecuba story furnishes a kind of parallel to the Hamlet-Claudius-Gertrude story. As Mr. Trench well puts it: "Around the slaying of a king all Hamlet's thoughts ever revolve; so in this half-dramatized epic the most attractive passage of all is that about the death of Priam." (p. 104)

These are rather trivial and incidental purposes. By themselves they would hardly justify the intrusion of some seventy lines of melodramatic bombast, irrelevant to the actual story of Hamlet.

3. There is, however, an aspect in which the declamation has very decided relevance to Hamlet's case. Let us assume with Mr. Bradley that Shakespeare understands Hamlet to be suffering from melancholic depression, and then ask what effect upon his hero the dramatist would look for from such an exciting bit of dramatic entertainment. Clearly, a salutary effect. We all know how wonderfully fits of "blues" caused by disappointment or excessive introspection are alleviated by a play, particularly a wild farce or lurid melodrama. The mists of self-absorption are cleared from our brains; we see our own troubles in proper focus and perspective.

So it is with Hamlet. It is no accident, I think, that the announcement of the players' coming finds him in the lowest spirits he has shown, complaining of his "bad dreams," confessing that "Denmark's a prison" and that man delights not him; no, nor woman neither. He brightens up at once when the actors are announced and becomes more normal and gayer in their presence. He thirsts for dramatic distraction. "We'll e'en to 't like French falconers," he cries; "we'll have a speech straight. . . . Come, a passionate speech." Perhaps the bad dramatic taste for which he is blamed in his praise of "Æneas's tale to Dido" is to be ascribed to his momentary craving for strong excitement. He listens avidly to the declamation and snubs Polonius savagely for finding it too long. When the entertainment is over and Hamlet is left alone, the Aristotelian purgation by tragic pity and terror has been effected. He is in the position of a mountain climber long held inactive by befogging mist, when suddenly the cloud is dispelled and instantaneously he sees his course before him.

The great soliloquy which follows has two parts, quite logically connected. In the first part, as the mists are blown from his brain, Hamlet feels a natural wonder and disgust that he has been inactive so long. The cause of delay, being entirely psychological, is quite inconceivable when it is momentarily removed. He contrasts him-

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self with the actor and proposes three hypothetical reasons for his failure to perform the duty of vengeance: (1) he is "a dull and muddy-mettled rascal"; (2) he is a coward; (3) he is an ass that unpacks his heart with words. At this point he contemptuously drops the vain search for causes, and like the keen and efficient thinker he naturally is, turns his attention to the matter before him:

> Fie upon't! foh! About, my brain!

In the second part of the soliloquy, Hamlet looks to the future and apprehends no more difficulty than when the vengeance was first asked of him. He sees nothing to stop him. However, weeks have passed—perhaps two months—since he heard the Ghost's words, and the impression of the interview is inevitably less vivid than it was. The facts of the revelation are perfectly clear, but naturally—how could it be otherwise?—he no longer feels that ardent conviction of the trustworthiness of his supernatural visitant which had enabled him to cry out to Horatio and Marcellus on the night of the meeting:

> Touching this vision here,
> It is an *honest* ghost, that let me tell you.

Hamlet now realizes what Horatio and Marcellus then realized—what the people of Shakespeare's time generally understood—that there are ghosts honest and ghosts dishonest. In the actual presence of the spirit he had no doubts, but could he conscientiously trust that feeling now? There is no effort to evade any responsibility or shield himself behind any supposititious or ungenuine doubt. He asks only what any scrupulous man must have demanded—"grounds more relative" than his two-months' old recollection of his impression of the spirit's sincerity.

Hamlet is never more normal than at the end of this long and carefully prepared soliloquy. But the natural reaction follows. He sleeps the next night well, and when he awakes on the morning before the play the fog has again settled over his brain—the thicker doubtless for its temporary dispersal. The relapse after artificial relief such as has been offered to him is wont to be serious, and the "To be or not to be" soliloquy shows him indeed in the blankest despair. The performance of the play rouses him, but insufficiently. A dozen distractions press upon him. The speech beginning " 'Tis now the very witching time of night" and still more that which commences "Now might I do it pat" show how uncertain of his

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course he is, and he ends by venting irresponsibly on Polonius the energy which in the third soliloquy he meant to direct against Claudius. Oblivion and fatalistic indifference follow. Then, as if to enforce the point of the third soliloquy, Shakespeare shows in the seventh how like causes produce like results in Hamlet's mind, when the cheap melodrama of Fortinbras's expedition again unclouds his brain and effects another brief moment of clear vision.

Yale University.

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CUTS AND INSERTIONS IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS*

By John Matthews Manly.

Such a meeting as this is, in general, I well believe, no place for detailed technical discussion. Therefore, if I have dared to base my whole paper on certain features of Shakespeare's versification, it is only because the technique involved is very simple and the results —if established—are important not only to the special student of metrics but to everyone who is interested in Shakespeare's plays as plays and in his double attitude towards his work, as craftsman and as poet.

It is well-known that several of Shakespeare's plays exist in more than one version and that many passages which appear in one of these versions do not appear in another. For example, in Hamlet, the famous passage on drunkenness, beginning:

> This heavy-headed revel east and west
> Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations

is in the second Quarto—the first decently printed copy of the play—but not in the Folio. Why this difference? Was it cut out of the Folio version or added in the Quarto version? Can we find out? I think that in this and many other cases we can.

There are several kinds of possible evidence. For the sake of simplicity I wish at present to discuss only one kind, using the others, if at all, only as corroborative. For this purpose I shall ask you to grant me one assumption, to be used not as a hard and fast rule but as a working hypothesis. This is that Shakespeare's normal dramatic line was the so-called ten-syllabled line and that where one version has a normal line and the other an imperfect one, the normal line probably represents his original intention and the imperfect one the accidental result of cutting or inserting, as the case may be. To suppose that he wrote a poor line by first intention and obtained a good one by accident seems absurd. Let us illustrate what I mean. In Hamlet IV, vii, 69-82, Q^2 contains a passage not contained in the Folio. The first line of the passage reads:

> And call it accident.
> My Lord, I will be ruled;

The last line reads

> Imparting health and graveness. Two months since.

* Read at the meeting of the American Philological Society, St. Louis, Dec. 29, 1916.

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The Folio has of course only one line at the joint, which is:

> And call it accident. Some two months since.

Which result is the more likely to be accidental: that the Folio got a good ten-syllabled line by cutting or that the Quarto got a twelve-syllabled line as the result of an insertion?

There are twelve passages of more or less importance that appear in the Folio edition of Hamlet but not in the Second Quarto and sixteen that appear in the Quarto but not in the Folio. Other plays which exist in more than one version show similar differences. I do not maintain that this simple verse test always enables us to determine whether we have to do with a cut or with an insertion; sometimes the verse is perfect in both versions, sometimes it is defective in both, and sometimes there are other factors which render a decision difficult or doubtful. But there are some passages in each of the plays in question that seem capable of definite classification by this method. As time is lacking for a discussion of all the passages, we shall discuss only a few examples, illustrating the method.

Let us first take a cut in the Folio. In III, iv, 160 ff., Hamlet, addressing his mother, says:

> Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
> That monster custom, who all sense doth eat,
> Of habits devil, is angel yet in this:—
> That to the use of actions fair and good
> He also gives a frock or livery
> That aptly is put on. Refrain tonight,
> And that shall lend a kind of easiness
> To the next abstinence; the next more easy;
> For use almost can change the stamp of nature
> And either [rout] the devil, or throw him out
> With wondrous potency. Once more goodnight.

So the Quarto. The folio has only

> Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
> Refrain tonight,
> And that shall lend a kind of easiness
> To the next abstinence. Once more goodnight.

Were the two missing passages cut out in the Folio or inserted in the Quarto? In the Quarto, the meter is perfect throughout. The lines of the Folio can be made up into respectable verse thus:

> Refrain tonight and that shall lend a kind
> Of easiness to the next abstinence.

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> Once more goodnight.
> And when you are desirous to be blest
> I'll blessing beg of you, etc.

In other words either "Refrain tonight" is left to constitute a whole line at the beginning of the passage or "Once more goodnight" is similarly left at the end.

But everyone will perhaps admit that, like modern dramatists, Shakespeare sometimes cut out passages unsuited to his audience in general or in particular. It is not so commonly recognized that he also made additions to his original version. But here seems to be a clear instance of insertion: In III, iv, 68, the Folio has:

> You cannot call it love; for at your age,
> The heyday in the blood is tame; it's humble,
> And waits upon the judgment; and what judgment
> Would step from this to this? What devil was't
> That thus hath cozened you at hoodman blind?

In the Quarto two insertions are made in this passage. The first is placed between the two parts of line 71, and does not disturb the metre of this line as it begins with four syllables which fill out the metre of the line; but it ends with the words

> To serve in such a difference,

which do not make a satisfactory line with the words "What devil was't." The second insertion consists of three and a half lines, the half-line showing the passage to be an insertion.

In his introduction to the facsimile reprint of Quarto I of Othello, Mr. H. A. Evans (p. xiv) enumerates three passages which appear in the Folio but not in the Quarto and says, "These are the only passages which can with any confidence be set down as afterthoughts or additions." Two of the three are shown by our method to be parts of the original text; their omission from the Quarto is due to cutting.

1. III, iii, 454-460. Iago has just said to Othello:

> Patience, I say; perhaps your mind will change.

In the Folio Othello replies:

> Never, Iago. Like to the Pontic sea
> Whose icy current and compulsive course
> Ne'er keeps retiring ebb but keeps due on
> To the Propontic and the Hellespont,

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> Even so my bloody thoughts with violent pace
> Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love
> Till that a capable and wide revenge
> Swallow them up. Now by yond marble heaven,
> In the due reverence of a sacred oath,
> I here engage my words.

Of all this the Quarto has only:

> Never!
> In the due reverence of a sacred oath
> I here engage my words.

Of the first line only the word "Never" remains and it cannot be fitted into the verse.

2. In IV, ii, 152, Desdemona pleads with Iago to aid her with Othello:

> O good Iago,
> What shall I do to win my lord again?
> Good friend, go to him, for by this light of heaven,
> I know not how I lost him.

So the Quarto, with a broken line at the end of the speech. The Folio completes the line with the words "Here I kneel" and continues with thirteen lines of solemn and beautiful protest. The absolute need of the words "Here I kneel" to complete the imperfect line in the Quarto, shows that the Quarto text has been cut.

There is apparently only one passage in Othello which was added after the original composition of the text and this is not among those listed by Evans. Whether it is from Shakespeare's pen or not I will leave you to decide.

In V, ii, 185-193 there are eight lines in the Folio which are missing in Quarto. In the Quarto Emily cries to Iago who is trying to silence her:

> I will not charm my tongue, I am bound to speak.

He replies

> What, are you mad? I charge you get you home.

In the Folio Emily, Othello and the bystanders all take part.

Emily.	I will not charm my tongue, I am bound to speak. My mistress here lies murthered in her bed.
All.	O heavens forfend!
Emily.	And your reports have set the murder on.

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Othello. Nay, stare not, masters, it is true indeed.
Gratiano. Tis a strange truth.
Montano. O monstrous act!
Emily. O villany, villany, villany!
I think upon't; I think I smell it, O villany!
I thought so then. I'll kill myself for grief.
O villany, villany.

This seems, as I have said, to be an addition, but the passage is so exclamatory that one may hesitate to apply the test rigorously. Yet there is no distinctive Shakesperean quality in Othello's tame:

Nay, stare not masters, it is true indeed,

or in Emily's

I think upon't, I smell't, O villany!
I thought so then!

In King Lear there are many cuts and only a few additions. A good case of the latter is furnished by two closely related passages at the beginning of Act V. The lines in question are 11^2-13 and 18-19.

If the results obtained by this method be approved, the results are, as I said at the beginning, three-fold.

1. They lead us to suspect that many metrical irregularities, the causes of which we cannot see, may perhaps be due—not to Shakespeare's original intention—but to some manipulation of the text after the time of original composition. We shall then be relieved of the necessity of trying to show that passages are metrical which clearly are not so.

2. They teach us that after composing his plays, Shakespeare treated them much as a modern dramatist does his own work—cutting where the stage manager needs a hastening of the action, making insertions to intensify hits or motive action or illuminate character or create atmosphere.

3. Several of the additions—particularly in the Quarto Hamlet—are not additions of dramatic value. They must be ascribed to the author's desire to develop poetically ideas that interested him. If the second Quarto represent, as it is commonly supposed to do, the text of the play as performed at Court, we can understand how, before an audience of cultivated people, interested in poetry, the dramatist gave a loose to his own tendency to poetic reflection and utterance.

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Editors should learn that the different versions of the plays exist for different purposes and each has a right to be treated as a separate entity. To produce a text, as even the best modern editors do, by running together all the extant texts of a simple play is to produce a monster—a version which may contain all that Shakespeare wrote on the theme in question but which does not represent his conception of the play as a play.

The University of Chicago.

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THE LYRICAL CONCEIT OF THE ELIZABETHANS

By Raymond Macdonald Alden

In common, I am sure, with many students of the history of poetry, I have often used the term "conceit" with the secret wish that I knew what I really meant by it. At other times I have felt almost sure that I had captured the type, but have coveted a better understanding of its uses and effects in poetry, and have sought in vain for any adequate analysis or classification of them. I soon discovered that the term was used in very different senses by different critics, and that, even when they seemed to agree on the phenomenon under consideration, they might disagree as to whether it was poetic or anti-poetic in character. It is the object of this paper to make some inquiry regarding the general subject, especially with reference to the problem of definition and classification, and to present a few definite facts in a portion of the field. There have been, of course, two periods when English poetry was especially marked by the importance of the conceit as an element of lyrical form or method,—that of the Elizabethan sonnet, and that of the freer lyric of the period from Jonson to Cowley. Traditionally, these periods are represented respectively by the "Petrarchan" conceit and the "metaphysical." In the present paper I shall confine myself to the former, and shall include for special study only the sonnets of Sidney and Shakespeare,—incomparably the finest collections of English lyrics of the Petrarchan school. I shall also leave out of account the important historical aspects of the subject, such as the relation of the lyrical conceits of the English poets to their continental predecessors; but I hope to suggest some things which may contribute toward a sound method of investigating these matters.

In the first place let me point out briefly what is "the state of the question" regarding the use of the term "conceit" with reference to poetry. The *New English Dictionary* defines it as "a fanciful, ingenious, or witty notion or expression; now applied disparagingly to a strained or far-fetched turn of thought, figure, etc., an affectation of thought or style." A typical example of the earlier use is from John Bell, 1581, who spoke of a "tongue . . . framed to pretty conceits;" of the later use, a remark of the late J. A. Symonds, to the effect that "the Greeks had no conceits: they did not call the

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waves 'nodding hearse-plumes' . . . or laburnums 'dropping wells of fire.' "[1] The essence of the later use, it will be noticed, is the element of disparagement.

Of recent critical works in which one might look for some account of this subject, the only ones to give it at all the attention it deserves are Mr. Courthope's *History of English Poetry* and Professor Schelling's volume on *English Literature in the Lifetime of Shakespeare.* The former writer does not, indeed, discuss the term "conceit," but gives a well-known and very interesting account of the various types of "poetical wit" in which the subject is included. In general, his discussion is based on the traditional view of the "metaphysical" conceit, especially as defined by Dr. Johnson as "a kind of *discordia concors*, a combination of dissimilar images, or discovery of occult resemblances in things apparently unlike."[2] The value of Courthope's account has, I suppose, been obscured by his rather eccentric historical generalizations, familiar to all readers of his *History*,—such as that the poetic wit of the Renaissance is due to "the decay of the scholastic philosophy and the feudal system."[3] In contrast, Professor Schelling's discussion of the conceit is marked by simplicity and a concern for the concrete facts. He defines it as originally a product of "the effort on the part of the poet to deck out his thought in striking, apt, and original figures of speech and illustration," and proceeds to say that "such an effort easily degenerates into ingenuity, far-fetched metaphor, extravagance, and want of taste; for all these things came in time to characterize the conceit to such an extent that the original idea was lost, and a conceit came restrictedly to mean 'any conventional device of the poet—fancy, figure, or illustration—used to give individual, transcendent expression to the thing he has to say.' "[4] Here we should notice the term "conventional," which seems to be somewhat paradoxically related

[1] *Greek Poets*, x, 324.

[2] From the Life of Cowley. Schelling has pointed out (in his Introduction to *Seventeenth Century Lyrics*, p. xxv) that Johnson's use of the term "metaphysical" is probably derived from Dryden's remark that Donne "affects the metaphysics, . . . and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts." (*Discourse on Satire.*) But Grierson has noted the use of the term "concetti metafisici" in Testi (d. 1646). (*Donne's Poetical Works*, vol. ii, p. 1.)

[3] Vol. iii, p. 105.

[4] Page 127. Schelling implies that the quoted definition is from an unpublished paper by Professor C. G. Child.

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to the notion of ingenuity and extravagance already introduced; in other words, we have the concettist blamed in the first place for inventing far-fetched and unheard-of images, and in the next place for using these images when they have become merely conventional. And this represents a corresponding paradox of definition in criticism generally. On the one hand, Donne's notions are called conceits because of their strangeness, while on the other those of the early sonneteers are called so because of their triteness. In this connection I recall an interesting paper by Dr. M. B. Ogle, on "The White Hand as a Literary Conceit,"[5] in which the conventional notion of blond beauty is brought under our present subject; at one point the writer remarks, "Many such conceits appear in the poetry of Theocritus, . . . e. g., 'milk-white Galatea.' " Obviously, if notional phrases like this are conceits, Greek poetry—and early English likewise—is full of conceit, in contradiction to the statement of Symonds as quoted above.

The common habit of referring to conceits as far-fetched or ingenious figures must have led many of us to wonder where the line should be drawn between them and normal examples of metaphorical imagery. What is a "far-fetched" metaphor? and is it necessarily a poetic fault to be ingenious? Is it a conceit, for example, to call an ancient Greek urn an "unravished bride of quietness," or to say that the song of an unseen skylark is like a glow-worm hidden in a dell, or that Helen's face "launched a thousand ships, and burnt the topless towers of Ilium"? I recall but one instance where a critic has undertaken with some care to make the distinction between normal figure and conceit, namely, in Mr. E. K. Chambers's introduction to the volume of the *Red Letter Shakespeare* containing the Sonnets. Here it is said that a figure loses the character of "a just image" and becomes a conceit, (1) if the element of similarity is less obvious than dissimilarity; or (2) if the expressiveness of the comparison is obscured by the ingenuity of the discoverer; or (3) if it lacks imaginative concreteness and vividness; or (4) if it is below the level of its theme. A number of queries are suggested by these distinctions, which cannot fairly be taken up without a fuller discussion of Mr. Chambers's examples than is possible here; but I shall say one or two things briefly. I am sure that we all recognize the meaning of the second of the four distinctions, and its appropriateness to one common use of the term conceit. But as to the others

[5] *Sewanee Review*, vol. xx, p. 459.

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it seems to me that the statements amount practically to the doctrine that a conceit is a poor metaphor, and to use the term in this way leads to no useful end. I do not even recognize the first distinction as necessarily marking a metaphor as peculiar or inferior, and I am further hindered from doing so when Mr. Chambers chooses for illustration the familiar Elizabethan comparison of a tear to a pearl. A pearl, says he, differs so strikingly from a tear, in its "hard white opacity," that the analogy of roundness is obscured; hence the comparison is a conceit. Or again, in Shakespeare's lines—

> Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May,
> And summer's lease hath all too short a date,

he tells us that the first of these images is a just metaphor, but that the second is a conceit, because the legal figure of a lease is a piece of "professional erudition," and does not bring up a sensuous image. But surely we cannot admit that every poetical analogy must concern concrete visible objects. And when it comes to measuring up likeness with unlikeness, should we not find that in almost every metaphor the account of the latter would immensely outweigh that of the former? To recur to a former example, how numerous are the points of dissimilarity between the skylark's song and a glow-worm, compared with the single point of likeness seized upon by Shelley!

Another discussion of the conceit, very brief but worthy of attention, is that of Dean Beeching in the Muses' Library edition of Crashaw's poems. Here, as with Dr. Johnson and (in part) Mr. Chambers, the emphasis is laid on the element of ingenuity as compared with a sense of truth; and Beeching adds the interesting remark that this same distinction "seems to be the grain of truth at the bottom of the more pretentious distinction between the images of the 'fancy' and the 'imagination,' of which Coleridge, and after him Ruskin, have made so much."[6] In other words, a conceit may be viewed as an image presented by what Coleridge and Wordsworth call the *fancy*, a faculty concerned with the superficial appearances of things; while a just metaphor may be regarded as the product of their *imagination*, which is concerned with the real resemblances between things and the truth thus signified. This is an intelligible distinction, and could be applied rather takingly to some of the examples noted

[6] Page xlvii.

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by Wordsworth.[7] It is nevertheless open to some question; for imagery to which the term conceit would ordinarily be applied is used by some poets for the presentation, with undeniable seriousness, of what they view as important truths. For example, it is not infrequently employed by the sacred poets to express the mystery of the Incarnation,—never more finely than by Crashaw in his "Holy Nativity," where the shepherds represent the powers of heaven and earth as contending to make a bed for the infant Christ, then argue—

> The Babe whose birth embraves this morn
> Made His own bed ere He was born.

But further, some of the most interesting conceits of both the Petrarchan and the "metaphysical" school are not based on imagery; they are not mere elaborated (or distorted) metaphors and similes, but represent mental processes quite apart from the sensuous imagination. It is the chief value of Mr. Courthope's discussion, in which he connects this poetic element with certain philosophic phenomena, that he recognizes and emphasizes the kind of conceit I refer to. To define the conceit, then, with sole reference to the imaginative figures of speech, is to stop short of this type.

Along what line, then, shall we seek a working definition? Not, I think, as I have indicated, by making the distinction between conceits and ordinary figures one of vice and virtue—vicious as the conceit may frequently seem to be. Neither should we emphasize too fully the matter of remoteness or eccentricity, as in itself decisive; for it is obvious, in that case, not only that a normal imaginative figure might become a conceit by sufficient repetition, or a conceit become a normal figure, but also that what would be a normal figure

[7] Indeed he himself uses the term "conceit" in this connection: "I will content myself with placing a conceit (ascribed to Lord Chesterfield) in contrast with a passage from the *Paradise Lost*:

> The dews of the evening most carefully shun,
> They are the tears of the sky for the loss of the sun.

After the transgression of Adam, Milton, with other appearances of sympathising Nature, thus marks the immediate consequence,—

> Sky lowered, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
> Wept at completing of the mortal sin,

The associating link is the same in each instance. . . . A flash of surprise is the effect in the former case; a flash of surprise, and nothing more; for the nature of things does not sustain the combination. In the latter, the effects of the act, of which there is this immediate consequence and visible sign, are so momentous that the mind acknowledges the justice and reasonableness of the sympathy in nature so manifested." (Preface of 1815; *Works*, Globe edition, p. 884.)

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for one group of readers would be a conceit for another.[8] The sounder method of analysis, it seems, is to inquire what the process of composition may be which we find producing certain characteristic effects in the verse of given types or periods, and thus to arrive inductively at *something* which deserves a characteristic name.

Word-plays are the most elementary, as—according to the general view—they are the most contemptible of the ingenuities of the old lyrists. It is a fair question whether a mere pun is a matter of enough significance for the poetic art to be dubbed with even the none too honorable name of conceit; yet we know that it has been dignified as Paronomasia, and listed by rhetoricians as one of the figures. What is more to the purpose, the pun (and similar verbal quibbles), as used by the poets, has at least as much imaginative force as the figure of antithesis; and every student of Elizabethan literature knows that it was used in a manner somewhat akin to that figure,—frequently without any sense of comic effect. Elaborated for poetic ends, then, it is apparently entitled to, and commonly receives, the name of conceit. Antony's

> O world, thou wast the forest to this hart,
> And this indeed, O world, the heart of thee,

and Laertes'

> Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,
> And therefore I forbid my tears

(I draw upon the drama instead of the lyric, for the moment, because of the familiarity of the passages)—these word-plays show clearly how deeply emotional might be the character of conceits even of this disallowed type.

When we pass to the more strictly imaginative figures, of which metaphorical images and those akin to them are the chief, it is still more difficult to draw the line between the mere figure and the conceit. Perhaps the distinction must be in good part a subjective

[8] I do not deny, however, the possibility of this latter condition. My friend Professor W. D. Briggs has suggested to me that the use of a remote or highly technical subject-matter, such as requires the reader to pause for adequate understanding of a figure, is sometimes a characteristic element in a conceit, and that it is therefore possible that such legal figures (for example) as are so abundant in the Elizabethan sonnet may have this effect of the conceit for us, when they would not have had it for the poets' contemporaries. I take this occasion to add that I have discussed the subject of this paper so fully with Dr. Briggs that, while he is far from being responsible for any part of it, I am not sure how some of my observations may be due to his aid.

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matter. For example, I find that to call tears pearls is a perfectly normal metaphor, though we have seen that it offends one critic and for him becomes a conceit. But when Shakespeare says,

> Ah! but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,
> And they are rich, and ransom all ill deeds,

I feel that the metaphor has been elaborated to form a conceit. Again, to compare the eyes of a beautiful friend with stars is a natural metaphor, struck out swiftly by the animated imagination; but when Sidney, in his 26th Sonnet, or Shakespeare in his 14th, says that he consults the starry eyes of his beloved, like an astrologer, for prognostication, a similar development has taken place. Yet once more, I should find it normal enough—despite the dislike of Mr. Chambers and others for figures drawn from legal processes—that a poet should speak of a friend as making himself his surety, or giving bond for him; but we should all agree in finding a conceit in Shakespeare's Sonnet 134, the argument of which, reduced to dry prose, runs somewhat as follows:

> If you will restore my friend to me, I will forfeit my mortgage to your will; he came to you giving bond as my surety, and you are a usurer if you sue one who incurred debt for my sake.

It is obvious that conceits like this conform to the test proposed by some of the critics I have cited,—namely, by attracting more attention to the ingenuity of the poet than to the justice of the analogy he presents. Yet the real test, I think, is something a little different from this: it is whether we have been obliged to do something more than apprehend the analogy in the usual imaginative flash which a metaphor produces—to engage in a logical (or otherwise intellectual) process in order to perceive its significance. When this is the case, it is quite true that a natural result will be that we shall be disposed to give more attention to the process of elaboration than to the thing signified.[9]

What is true of metaphor and simile is of course true of personification—really a special form of metaphor. Here the normal process is a rapid and purely imaginative one; "my mouth refuses to speak" is a normal instance. But Sidney, in his 80th Sonnet, tells us that his mouth refuses to praise Stella's lips further, for fear of flattering;

[9] Here, then, I find myself in closer agreement with Mr. Chambers, when he says: "Many images become conceits merely by over-elaboration, when detail is added to detail until the symbol becomes an object of interest in itself, instead of indirectly conveying something which is not itself." (Page 14)

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those lips, however, by giving his mouth a kiss, will teach it that no praise can exceed the truth. Here the elaborative process has developed a conceit, through a charming accessory use of logical reasoning.

Metaphor or personification, or both together, may be so elaborated as to tell a complete story of a symbolic sort, which, if it follows certain well-marked lines, we may call allegory; at other times it becomes a kind of myth,—as when, for example, almost any Renaissance poet tells his beloved either that she has stolen her complexion and breath from the flowers, or that the flowers have taken their hue and odor from her. Now if the details of the symbolic development are related to each other so closely as to form a single vivid imaginative whole, we say simply that we have a perfect piece of symbolism, or a perfect allegory; but if they are so complicated or incongruous as to require a bit of special reasoning to make them intelligible, they may be said to take on the nature of a conceit. The imagery of "Crossing the Bar" is an instance of the first sort, and so (to pass to prose for a moment) is the dream of Love, Sleep, and Death in Landor's *Pentameron*; on the other hand the elaborate apparatus of the *Roman de la Rose* might be said to make of the main action of the poem a kind of gigantic conceit,—though of course one has no desire to extend the term in just that fashion.[10] Little myths of Cupid and his conduct, or mythopoetic explanations of physical beauty like that cited a moment ago, are typical instances of narrative conceit in the Petrarchan lyric.

So much for the conceits which are based on verbal or imaginative figures. But there is another group, as I have said, of even more interesting conceits which are not imaginative in the sense that they are not concerned with sensuous images, but which are related to the imaginative conceits much as the so-called "logical" figures of the rhetorics are related to figures of the metaphorical group. Even more definitely than those we have been considering, they are based on an intellectual process which is called in to aid in the expression of lyrical feeling. Sometimes they invert a logical process, for the sake of greater sublety or wit, and we have paradox; sometimes they pursue it rigorously, to outcomes either serious or humorous, or exalt it to a genuine metaphysical quality. Of Renaissance paradoxes one of the most common is to the effect that the lover suffers sorely from his passion, but enjoys his suffering more than any other

[10] In like manner the more elaborate sort of Homeric or epic simile, existing for its own sake, might be called a conceit after its kind.

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pleasure; or again, he is silent because silence expresses love better than words. Others, less superficial and conventional, like Shakespeare's promise to quarrel with himself because he will not love his friend's enemy, exemplify the fact that a conceit which is essentially dependent on a bit of eccentric intellectual exercise may nevertheless be saturated with personal feeling.[11] The sonnets of the Petrarchans also furnish abundant examples of the more directly logical process. In one form of it (pretty close, sometimes, to paradox) the poet reasons that he does not need to use art to describe his beloved, since to give the facts is all-sufficient. Another bit of familiar lyrical logic is based on the allegation of identity of lover and beloved,—as when Shakespeare argues that the woman who has forsaken him for his friend still loves him alone. It is a question whether, in cases like this, the logic means more than playing with words—like many a sophistical exercise; but in other instances it represents without question real emotional fact. Of the higher metaphysical type of conceit one might take for example the notion that the image of the absent beloved is seen in the persons of those present to the lover's eye. This is an experience so familiar to those who love, that a reader may be expected to apprehend it instantly, without any circuitous process of logic; but the sonneteers elaborate it in the manner of the conceit,—arguing, for instance, as Sidney does: "I admire other beautiful ladies, but it is only because in them I find and love Stella." It is this type of conceit, I need hardly observe, which brings us closest to the later development of the lyric and to the modes of thought characteristic of Donne and his followers.

After this analysis of the subject it seems desirable, though not unhazardous, to attempt the statement of a working definition. I suggest, then, this: a conceit is *the elaboration of a verbal or an imaginative figure, or the substitution of a logical for an imaginative figure, with so considerable a use of an intellectual process as to take precedence, at least for the moment, of the normal poetic process.* And under the definition come, according to the foregoing analysis, types which may be summarized thus:

[11] Courthope treats the paradox type more fully than any other critic; see the *H. E. P.*, vol. iii, p. 106. He makes a separate group also—as do some other writers—of hyperbole; and perhaps this is worth while. I question, however, whether pure hyperbole is to be viewed as a conceit; for poetical purposes, if developed, it commonly takes the form of paradox or narrative myth.

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I. Verbal conceits.
II. Imaginative conceits.
  a. Metaphor-simile type.
  b. Personification type.
  c. Myth type.
III. Logical conceits.
  a. Paradox type.
  b. Logical-metaphysical type.

Whatever the defects of this tentative definition and classification, I may be allowed to emphasize the fact that at least they are not of *a priori* devising; they are not due to any preliminary theory, or the desire to apply existing rhetorical schemes to the subject, but were arrived at by the purely inductive method of analyzing all the principal conceits in a group of sonnet sequences, and observing into what elements or groups they seemed to fall. And of course my definition does not shut out the possibility of others, which may represent the facts that seem most significant to other readers; for we shall all admit that these phenomena of poetry are not like the genera and species of physical nature, for which a high degree of fixity and mutual exclusiveness may be assumed. The only important question is whether a given analysis represents facts that are of interest to students of poetry.

Let me now outline some of the observed facts a little more specifically, in the case of the Sonnets of Sidney and Shakespeare. For convenience, instead of quoting abundantly from these poems, I cite brief prose paraphrases of the lines involving conceits,—a method which I admit does almost criminal violence to the beauty of many of the passages, but which seems to reveal the outlines of the phenomena we are studying more clearly. And even the æsthetic effects are not always lost; for though in some cases the nature of the conceit may be said to be veiled in the poetic phrasing, and the poem to be enjoyed in spite of it rather than on account of it, in other instances the charm inheres in the conceit itself, and is nowise lost in paraphrase.

I. Verbal Conceits

In *Astrophel & Stella* there are but four or five sonnets which represent this type. Two of them are famous,—24 and 37, in which Sidney plays on Stella's married name: in the one he despises the rich fool who is to "grow in only folly Rich," in the other he pities the lady who is rich in everything save that she is Rich. I need hard-

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ly observe that these puns, whether agreeable or not to modern taste, are by no means wholly trivial or unemotional, when taken in their context. In the 9th Sonnet there is a purely decorative play on the word "touch-stone;" in the 36th a play, antithetical in effect, on "raised" and "razed," and also a group of iterative conceits, evidently designed for mellifluous emphasis:

> With so sweet voice, and by sweet Nature so
> In sweetest strength, so sweetly skilled withal
> In all sweet stratagems sweet art can show.

Finally, in Sonnet 63 is a bit of logical-grammatical word-play, Stella's "No! no!" being interpreted according to the principle that "two negatives affirm."

In Shakespeare's Sonnets the number of verbal conceits is slightly larger, but not in proportion to the length of the series. Most conspicuous here, of course, are the "Will sonnets," 135 and 136, respecting which I shall add nothing to the elaborate notes of Sir Sidney Lee and others.[12] In Sonnet 13 the poet plays on the word "yourself," alleging that you are not really *your self* save under certain conditions; in 44 on the word "thought" with its special meaning of melancholy; in 131 on "blackness" with reference to complexion and character; in 53, more subtly and without the effect of a pun, on the word "shadow" in its double meaning of visibly duplicated form and metaphysical image.[13] All these conceits, with the exception of some of those on "Will," are certainly quite serious, and in some cases (as 44 and 53) are suffused with lyrical feeling. There is one purely playful example in Sonnet 145, akin to Sidney's 63rd, where the words "I hate" are saved from their effect by the addition of "not you." Obviously the verbal conceit is of slight importance in these two sonnet collections, compared with the place it has had in the discussion of Elizabethan poetry.

II. Imaginative Conceits

a. Metaphor-Simile Type

Under this head it is clear that I cannot give complete lists, not only because of the number of examples but because the line between

[12] See Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, § 8 of the Appendix, and my variorum edition of the Sonnets, pp. 324-29.

[13] Perhaps there should be added to the list a word-play involved in the expression "lines of life" in Sonnet 16, but there is no agreement as to the meaning.

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the conceit and the normal figure is so tenuous. Of fairly marked conceits the following may be noted from *Astrophel & Stella*:

(26) I prognosticate my future by the stars in Stella's face.

(29) As weak rulers yield their coast regions as tribute, in order to keep their chief cities, so Stella lets Love occupy her lips, eyes, body, but not her heart.

(48) Do not turn your eyes from me, though they wound; it is better to slay quickly.

(76) Stella's eyes rise upon me like the morning sun, then dazzle and burn like noonday, so that I pray for the milder beams of bed-time.

(79) Let me sing the praises of a kiss: it is a heart's key, a nest of joys, a friendly fray, etc.; but here comes Stella: cease the service of praise, and pray for a kiss!

(82) Nymph of the garden of beauties, do not banish me from those cherries: I will only kiss, not bite.

(96) Melancholy is like night in respect to blackness, heaviness, ghostliness, etc., but worse than night in that it hates rest.

(97) As Diana cannot console the night, because of Night's hopeless love for Phoebus, so a certain lady tries vainly to comfort me while I miss the rays of my sun.

Shakespeare's Sonnets are much richer in metaphor and simile than Sidney's, but as it is more characteristic of his style to present one image swiftly and then pass on to another, the number of fully developed conceits of this type is perhaps not proportionally larger. The most remarkable group of them is to be found in the opening series of sonnets on the reproduction of beauty, in which every conceivable analogy is brought in to aid in the reiteration of the single theme,—often several in a single sonnet. The following are representative conceits both on this theme and others.

(1) You feed your light's flame with fuel of the same substance as itself, if your love is shut up to yourself.

(4) You are a profitless usurer if you do business wholly with yourself, and really cheat yourself of yourself.

(5-6) As flowers lose their beauty, but may save their fragrance through its being distilled in glass vessels, so you should make some vial sweet with your sweetness.[14]

(8) When you listen to music the sounds chide you for destroying by your singleness the harmony you should create by marriage and fatherhood.

(14) I prognosticate the future by the stars of your eyes. [Compare Sidney's Sonnet 26, above.]

(16) Many maiden gardens, not yet planted, would gladly bear you living flowers.

[14] This conceit reappears in Sonnet 54. Though I am rigorously avoiding the discussion of sources and analogues in this paper, I should perhaps note the interesting fact that the analogy of distillation has been traced to a passage in Sidney's *Arcadia*; see the variorum edition of the Sonnets, p. 28.

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(26) My wit is so poor as to make my dutiful verse seem bare, but my hope is that your thought will receive it even though naked, until my better fortune shall clothe my tattered love.

(34) Your tears of repentance are pearls fit to ransom all ill deeds.

(52) As rich men look at their treasures only now and then, and as feasts are more valued for their rareness, and jewels for being set at intervals, so our separation will make the moment of revelation peculiarly blest.

(77) The thoughts you commit to paper are children born of your brain, which, if well nursed, will renew their acquaintance with you.

(86) It was not the full sail of my rival's verse that buried my thoughts in my brain, and made their womb their tomb.

(87) Your charter permits you to leave me; the bonds have expired; and indeed my patent is null, because you gave it when ignorant of your true worth.

(125) Accept my poor oblation, since it is not mixed with the "seconds" [inferior flour] of mere art.

(139) My love turns her looks away from me that they may injure others instead of me:—do not so, for since I am near death it is better to kill me outright. [Compare Sidney's Sonnet 48, above.]

(143) As a housewife forgets her crying babe to run after a fowl, so you persist in pursuing one who flies from you, while I keep chasing you from behind.

b. Personification Type

Here also it may be a debatable matter to distinguish between the normal figure and the conceit; and I suppose the Renaissance poets show less eccentricity in developing this figure than any other. Yet with Sidney, especially, there is a very characteristic sort of elaboration of the personification, by which he surrounds himself with a group of life-like figures—Virtue, Desire, Patience, Grief—who appear as vivid for the moment as those in Collins's pageant of the Passions, but who are developed with the ingenious mental twist characteristic of the conceit.

(4) If Virtue persists in admonishing me, I will show him one that shall make even him fall in love.

(25) I have proved the truth of Plato's saying that if we could once see virtue we should be inflamed with love for it; for Virtue, in order to awaken love for herself, has taken Stella's shape.

(38) I saw Stella's image when asleep, but missed it when awake; hence I summoned Sleep again—but the guest had slain the host.

(56) I will not learn of Patience to bear Stella's absence; let him make her come and listen patiently to me.

(80) I praise Stella's lips until my mouth refuses, fearing to flatter; but with one kiss they can teach my mouth that my praise is far short of the truth.

(85) When I come into her presence, let my various faculties play the part of apt servants,—eyes see her, ears hear her, arms embrace her, while my heart, their lord, takes royal tribute from all.

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(94) Grief, find words for my complaint! Or, if deaf to the entreaty of such a wretch, wail for thyself at being lodged in a wretch.

(95) Sighs, you are faithful to me, though Joy, Hope, and Delight have fled, and Sorrow has been so fierce as to slay his own children Tears.

Shakespeare's personifications, in contrast, are for the most part simple and serious, the chief of them being the threatening figure of Time that looms so large throughout his sonnets; relatively few are developed unmistakably into conceits. The following might be so considered:

(51) When I am returning to you, no horse can keep pace with my desire; therefore Desire shall enter furiously into the race.

(65) Where shall Time's own best jewel be hid so that he cannot seize it for his chest?

(126) You hold Time in check now, but Nature cannot always keep you so; she must at length render her accounts, and give you up.

(128) I envy the keys of your spinet as they kiss your hand; if they have your fingers, give me your lips!

(141) My wits and senses cannot dissuade my heart from loving you; he leaves me to become your slave and vassal.

(151) Although Conscience is Love's child, Love is too young to know what conscience is.

c. Myth Type

This type characteristically involves the composition of a bit of narrative fiction, and is most often a development of the personification-conceit. For reasons implicit in what I have said of Sidney's personifications, the type is very characteristic of the art of his sonnets. Two uses of it may be noted especially: one in which the myth is devised in explanation of the beauty of the person celebrated, and another in which it is concerned with the operations of Love personified as Cupid or otherwise. Both these modes are, of course, highly conventional, but Sidney uses them with freshness and charm.[15] For the first of them, note the following:

[15] I must add, though the sonnets in question hardly come under the head of the conceit, that there is a related type also very characteristic of Sidney, which I am half tempted to call the conceit of the Dramatic Moment. In these sonnets there is a situation, with a bit of action and perhaps dialogue, representing just such a theme as in other instances may be developed by a myth. Sonnets 79 and 85, already instanced under other heads, exemplify this dramatic quality. See also 21, 30, 41, 47, 51, 66, 83, 92, 105. In the 51st the poet addresses other versifiers, and begs them to excuse his ears—his heart is busy with Stella; in the 83rd he addresses her bird, telling him that if he persists in toying with her lips his neck

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(7) Stella's eyes are black, not for the sake of contrast, or to show Nature's skill, or to protect us from their dazzling, but in order that Love may wear mourning for those who die for her.

(22) Stella, riding horseback with other ladies, was the only one to expose her face to the sun, and the only one not burned by him; her he only kissed.

(102) Stella is pale, not—as the doctors say—from illness; it is because Love is making his paper white, to write his story thereon more freshly.

(103) Stella rode on the Thames; the breezes were so ravished that they lingered in her hair and disordered it when forced to go on.

(17) Venus having broken Cupid's bow and arrows in anger, Nature made him better ones from Stella's brow and eyes; playing with these, he shot me.

The last of these conceits, it will be noted, belongs also in the group representing the myth of Cupid, for which see also the following:

(8) Love, fleeing westward, sought refuge in Stella's face; driven thence by her coldness, he came to my heart, and, having burnt his wings with his own fire, cannot fly away.

(12) Cupid thinks he has conquered Stella because he seems to possess her face and voice; but to win the citadel of her heart is the main task.

(43) When Love wishes to conquer, he goes into your eyes; when he wishes to play, to your lips; when he wishes to be alone, to your heart.

(53) While I was engaged in a tournament Cupid tried to distract me by causing me to see Stella in a window, so that I forgot to fight.

Aside from these two groups I add a few other examples:

(10) Reason fought against Love and Sense, until they used Stella's rays as weapons; then he surrendered, and himself began to prove that love of Stella is reasonable.

(52) Virtue and Love are striving for the possession of Stella, and Virtue argues that the real Stella is her soul; let him, then, have the real Stella, but give her body to Love and me!

(74) I have no inspiration from the Muses, but write and speak agreeably because my lips were inspired by Stella's kiss.

Shakespeare's Sonnets contain about the same number of conceits of this type as the *Astrophel & Stella*,—that is, fewer proportionately; for the most part they are less characteristic and interesting. A few represent the extreme tendencies of the period toward eccentric ingenuity; the finest example, without question, is the one religious sonnet, No. 146.

(22) My heart dwells in your breast and yours in mine; yours I will keep as carefully as a tender nurse her babe; do not suppose that when you have slain mine you can have yours returned.

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will be wrung; in the 92nd he addresses one who brings news of Stella, impatiently urging him to tell *everything* about her—and then tell it again! There is nothing in Shakespeare's sonnets precisely comparable to these vivid narrative elements.

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(24) My eye has drawn the image of your beauty in my heart,—framed in my body, hanging in my bosom's shop; your eyes are windows through which the sun views the image; etc.

(27) When you are absent at night, my thoughts take a journey to you; meantime my soul's sight shows me your image, whose beauty makes the night beautiful.

(45) The elements of air and fire (viz., my thought and my desire) remain with you, the heavier ones with me; hence I sink down in gloom until the former, swift messengers, come bringing news of you; etc.

(46) My eye and heart contend in court for the right to see you; a jury of thoughts awards your outward part to the eye, your inward love to the heart. [Compare Sidney's Sonnet 52, above.]

(113-114) In your absence my outer eye is blind, showing me nothing but you, and refusing to deliver to the mind any presented object. Is this because my eye has learned an alchemy by which it turns everything into your image? or because my mind is a king which drinks whatever my eyes, his cup-bearer, prepare for him?

(146) The Soul is besieged by rebel powers. and starving in her castle; let her spend less on the mansion, and feed Death by letting the body starve.

(147) My love is a fevered patient, feeding on what is most injurious; Reason, my physician, has deserted me, angry that his prescriptions have not been taken.

Of the Cupid myths Shakespeare presents only one, in the two versions of Sonnets 153 and 154—both re-workings of a Greek conceit of the fifth century. Of myths in explanation of the beloved's beauty there are two or three:

(67-68) The fresh, genuine beauty of my love survives in an age of corrupt imitative beauty, only because Nature is preserving him to show what her wealth was in better days.

(99) In your absence I chided the violet with having stolen your breath, the lily your hand, the marjoram buds your hair; the roses blushed with shame, and one of them, who had stolen your breath, was devoured by a vengeful canker.

(127) My mistress's eyes and hair are black, in mourning for those who wear false beauty. [Compare Sidney's Sonnet 7, above.]

III. Logical Conceits

a. Paradox Type

This type appears with about equal frequency in Sidney's and Shakespeare's sonnets. The leading themes, as in the Petrarchan lyric generally, are the actual paradoxes of the lover's experience: that his pain is pleasure and his pleasure pain; that for him winter may seem to be summer, or night like day; that his new story is always an old one.[16] In Sidney's case there is also much emphasis

[16] Conceits treating these themes may often, of course, be viewed as developments of the figure called *oxymoron*.

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on the paradoxical nature of love, viewed now as servant to virtue, now to passionate desire. One may distinguish between these genuine paradoxes of fact and others of a more superficial—usually playful—character, like the 73rd and 81st of Sidney's, cited below.

(2) I am so much in love that the only wit I have left is employed in deceiving myself into thinking my suffering enjoyable.

(18) I am going bankrupt of wit and wealth, but only regret that I have no more to lose for Stella's sake.

(54) Because I do not display my love like others, it is said I cannot be in love; but they love most who fear to tell it.

(57-58) I have given Stella songs and poems designed to pierce her with my woes, but she sings and reads them so delightfully that in hearing them I myself rejoice.

(60) Stella is harsh to me present, but pities me absent; so I am blest when cursed, and cursed when in bliss.

(61) Stella tells me that true love does away with desire, so I have to refute the sophistry that I do not love unless I cease loving.

(62) Stella professes true love for me, but holds that love urges to cold virtue; if this is all, let her love me less!

(68) Stella spends her voice in seeking to quench my love; but while she speaks I am thinking only—what a paradise to enjoy!

(73) Stella is angry because I kissed her sleeping, and her crimsoned face is so lovely that I must kiss again.

(81) I praise Stella's kiss till she forbids me; if you really wish me to cease, stop my mouth with another.

(87) When I parted from Stella, her tears and sighs made me weep; yet since the cause was love, I should have been vexed not to be vexed.

Shakespeare's conceits of this type are at once fewer, more conventional, and more serious than Sidney's. With him the chief source of paradox, one might say, is the sense of identity or confusion between lover and beloved.

(20) You are both master and mistress of my love, having all the merits of women without their faults.

(35) I excuse your sins, even when you rob me, your adversary acting as your advocate.

(36) I must bear the shame alone: yet I love you so much that you and your good name belong to me.

(43) I see best when my eyes are shut; and the nights are bright days, for in sleep I see your image.

(49) With a view to your forsaking me, I offer testimony for you against myself. [Compare Sonnet 35, just cited, and the following pair, which I place here because of the similarity.]

(88) When you renounce me, I will take sides with you; for I prefer to advantage myself by injuring myself in your behalf.

(89) Whatever reason you give for forsaking me, I will support; I will even quarrel with myself, since I cannot love him whom you hate.

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(62) I am guilty of self-admiration; but when I see myself in the glass I know it is really you that I have been praising as myself.

(102) The more I love, the less I publish the fact. [Compare Sidney's Sonnet 54, above.]

(131) Your face, though considered unbeautiful, is fairest to me in its darkness.

(150) You make your very evil exceed the best, in my view; and cause me to love the more, the more I see cause of hate.

b. Logical-metaphysical Type

Of this special type Sidney offers comparatively few examples, though one or two charming ones. His main theme, for ingenious poetical reasoning, is that of the all-sufficiency of the subject as a reason for the want of art in his verse. (It will be noted that several of the sonnets representing this theme might quite as well be grouped under paradox, though I bring them all together here for convenience.)

(3) I do not need the art of other poets, having only to copy what Nature writes in Stella's face.

(6) Other lovers elaborate fancies regarding their passion; I say as much as they in saying simply that I love Stella.

(15) Petrarchan poets should cease to hunt for far-fetched ornaments for their verse; let them only look at Stella, and begin to write.

(28) Do not hunt for allegories in my verse: when I say Stella I mean just her.

(55) I have often sought the aid of the Muses to make my speech eloquent; henceforth I shall only repeat Stella's name.

(90) I am entitled to no praise for my own wit, for your beauty dictates all.

For other themes the following examples may serve:

(45) Stella, who will not pity my suffering, lately shed tears over the lovers in a story; I wish, then, she would think of me not as myself, but as a tragedy!

(59) You are so much more loving to your witless dog than to me, that I hope Love will soon altogether remove my wits.

(88) I remain faithful to Stella in absence, because of the inward eye of memory; formerly heart loved and eyes saw,—now the heart does both, and the united effect is stronger.

(91) While absent from Stella if I see other beautiful ladies they please me, but only as models of her; I love her in them.

In Shakespeare's Sonnets we may note first the same theme emphasized in *Astrophel & Stella*, on the poet-lover's art, with the same tendency toward paradox:

(38) How can my Muse lack invention when you are to be my subject-matter?

(76) Why is my verse so monotonous? Because I always write of you.

(78) Though other poets have your aid, I am your chief product, for *all* my art is from you.

(79) The poet who praises you stole all he says from your face and character; do not praise him, then, since it is you who really pay the praise he owes you.

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(83) It is because you need no painting that I have been silent; I will not impair your beauty by celebrating it.

(84) Your highest praise is merely that you are you; to celebrate you, a poet should only copy.

(103) My Muse seems poor because the subject itself outdoes all invention.

Shakespeare's conceits under this type again elaborate the theme of identity:

(39) How can I praise you when you and I are one? It is better for us to be separated, that you may have your due as an individual; yet separation is only tolerable because it enables me to make twain out of one by praising you.

(42) I excuse you for loving my mistress, since you do it because I love her, and I excuse her in like manner; as you and I are one, she still loves me only.

Another theme of no little interest, which it is difficult to define clearly, is concerned with the image or "shadow" of the beloved, as found in other persons and in other ages. (See especially, among those noted below, Sonnets 31 and 106, which are surely among the loveliest in the collection.) This is perhaps the most subtly "metaphysical" of Shakespeare's conceit themes, and has been emphasized by Wyndham as Platonic in character;[17] perhaps it is, in origin, though it cannot be said that Shakespeare develops it in a way to suggest its philosophic relations.

(31) You enshrine all my past loves; I see their images in you, and in you they all have all of me.

(53) You have a thousand shadows: whatever beauty is mentioned, it appears to be the shadow of your beauty. [Compare Sidney's Sonnet 91, above.]

(59) I would that I could find your image in antiquity,[18] to judge whether it is true that everything repeats itself, and to see how the old world would have praised you.

(98) All the beauties of spring seemed only imitations of you, and it still seemed winter as I played with your shadow in your absence.

(106) When I read ancient writers' praises of beauty, I see that they were only prefiguring you; they could not describe you fully for want of sight, we cannot for want of skill.

I add a few more examples of conceit-reasoning on various themes.

(61) Do you try to keep me wakeful by sending your spirit to me at night? No, it is my own love that plays the watchman.

(92) I am certain to have your love throughout my life, for when you withdraw it my life will end.

[17] See, in his edition of Shakespeare's Poems, and in my variorum edition of the Sonnets, the notes on Sonnet 37, line 10.

[18] Compare one of Donne's most famous conceits:

> I long to talk with some old lover's ghost
> Who died before the god of love was born.

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(115) My former statement that I could not love you more, was false, for love is a babe that continues to grow.

(122) Your tablets are in my brain; I gave the visible ones away because I would not seem to need aid to remember you.

(152) We are both forsworn in our loves; but I am the one most perjured, because I took oath of your kindness, truth, and beauty,—all a lie.

So much for this hasty survey of the types in these two great sonnet collections,—a survey which cannot have failed to seem painfully mechanical in method, but which I hope may have served to clear the way for profitable analysis, and even for sound appreciative criticism. Some of these conceits have been strongly figurative, some rigidly logical; some were already worn into commonplaces, while others represent the inventiveness of the poet; some are repellent to modern taste, if they could ever have been thought beautiful, while others involve some of the finest expressions of lyrical feeling. But all, I think, conform to our definition, in being due to an elaboration or interruption of the usual swift processes of the poetic spirit, for the sake of a special intellectual process.

It is clear that there is an interesting connection between this subject, as thus analyzed, and the old subject of the meaning and kinds of *wit*. Thus Courthope, as we have seen, discusses the conceit altogether under the term "poetical wit," and my own classification, without any original intention to that end, bears some resemblance to Addison's well-known classification of the kinds of wit. In the foregoing outline I have made no effort to distinguish between the witty conceits and the purely serious ones, but such a distinction can hardly have failed to suggest itself to every reader. It is obvious, for example, that Shakespeare is not at his best in the witty conceit, and that Sidney is,—that the latter, in other words, represents an aspect of art which we notice in so-called *vers de société*. It is also clear that, while we may find the light or witty conceit and the serious conceit to be wholly distinct from each other, we may at other times find the two moods blended, and be made to realize that the play spirit is not necessarily in opposition to that of profound feeling. Just such conceits of mixed or blended moods may be found in many familiar modern specimens of verse. When Holmes, for example, ponders on the relation between his own existence and the "Yes" once spoken by his ancestress Dorothy Q., he is, we know, smiling but not merely smiling. This subject is one that has had too little consideration in respect to poetry,[19] and I

[19] It is best discussed, so far as I know, in a too brief chapter of Professor W. A. Neilson's *Essentials of Poetry*.

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cannot pursue it here. It is sufficient to note that a study of the conceit of the lyrists will add to our appreciation of its significance.

It is a serious limitation of my discussion, so far as it involves comparison of the work of Sidney and Shakespeare, that I have not included any account of the relation of their sonnet conceits to the *structure* of the sonnets. The outlines, for example, do not show for any particular instance whether the conceit forms the main theme of the sonnet, giving it body and controlling its development, or whether it is an incidental and comparatively brief portion of it. In general, the former condition is likely to be found in the great part of Sidney's collection, but is much less likely to occur in Shakespeare's; and the total effect is often very different, according as this difference is felt. Sidney, as all students of the Elizabethan sonnet know, followed fairly well the Italian conception of the unity and structural simplicity of the form. Shakespeare, on the other hand, viewed the sonnet as a progressive *composition*, in which one might pass freely from one imaginative notion or another in proceeding from quatrain to quatrain—or even within the quatrain; and with this conception of the sonnet is allied his well understood taste for hurrying with extraordinary swiftness from one metaphorical figure to another. Hence about a third of his sonnets are not characterized by the development of a single controlling image, and in a large number of the other two thirds the principal image does not wholly control the expression, but permits the fancy to dart aside on one or another rapid flight.[20] It follows from this that the outlines I have given of the sonnets

[20] Sonnet 125 is a striking case in point. In a sense it is a unit, on the single theme of love as concerned with realities and not with externals; but we pass from the metaphor of a gorgeous canopy to that of an insecure foundation,—from that of tenants who pay too much rent to that of gluttons who give up simple food for too much sweetness,—then to that of an oblation of flour not mixed with inferior grades; and the final couplet, instead of summarizing directly what has preceded, takes still another flight into the obscure figure of an "impeached" soul. On the other hand one may turn to Sonnet 106 for the perfect development of a single conceit, in which every line is true to the controlling image, and the couplet perfectly completes its evolution.

I take this occasion to note that such a contrast as that just noted between Shakespeare and Sidney suggests the possibility of applying the study of the different uses of the conceit to questions of influence and imitation. The two plausible sources for Shakespeare's original interest in the sonnet are the sequences of Sidney and Daniel, and it has been repeatedly pointed out that in form and style his sonnets are related with special closeness to Daniel's. The contrast just discussed further emphasizes this fact, for it is equally marked in the case of

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of conceit may be said to represent fairly adequately the real nature of Sidney's, in so far as any prose paraphrase can represent the nature of poetry, but that in the case of Shakespeare the outlines are grossly misrepresentative of the impression produced by the reading of his sonnets. This is partly because many of his best sonnets would not appear in the list of conceits at all, whereas almost all of Sidney's would; it is also because the structural unity of Sidney's is best fitted to representation in paraphrase, and the fugitive, penetrating beauty of Shakespeare's phrasing is of course lost altogether.

There remains a final question, which I have already raised momentarily,—that concerning the lyrical *values* of the conceit. Our examination, I take it, will have shown that it is by no means wholly without use and charm,—unless, of course, we start out with a definition which assumes that a conceit is a piece of depravity. It is true that the poems we have examined are by two of the greatest lyrists of their age, but it is also true that the age of the sonneteers was not that most favorable to original and sincere uses of the conceit;—for these, according to common opinion, we must go forward to Donne, Herbert, and Crashaw. But even the lowest and most artifical form of conceit, word-play, we have seen used with apparent sincerity by both Sidney and Shakespeare; and the highest forms have been compatible with some of the finest lyrical expression of the period. The fact is, the common assumption that lyrists have used the conceit—even in the Petrarchan era—as a *substitute* for real feeling, is unwarranted. One need go no further than a tomb-stone or a newspaper obituary column to observe that conceits, exceedingly bad and exceedingly trite, may be used for the expression of feeling of the deepest kind. A prominent and able biographer of Shakespeare has distinguished himself by arguing from the conventional elements in Shakespeare's Sonnets that they represent no strong personal emotion, but Mr. Chambers—one of many attorneys for the defen-

Daniel and Sidney;—Daniel, that is, shows the same sense of continuous, progressive composition, and the same freedom in changing and mingling his images, that we have noticed in Shakespeare. When it comes to the nature of his conceits in themselves, there is not so much contrast; yet in the case of almost every type Shakespeare would still stand closer to Daniel than to Sidney. Both he and Daniel, for example, make a larger use of the metaphor-simile conceit than Sidney, and a slighter use of the myth and the paradox types. But this sort of comparison must not be pressed too far. It may be expected to have significance in connection with certain conventional kinds of conceit, likely to be borrowed or imitated; in other kinds one would say the matter is one of individual poetic psychology.

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dant—replies that "any shy boy in love could have taught Mr. Lee that he secures a nearer and not a less near approach to his mistress by the choice of a conventional form for the overflowings of his romantic soul." The suspicion that the conventionality of a conceit nullifies its emotional reality may, therefore, be put aside. At the opposite extreme are those who find emotional values destroyed in a lyric when too great intellectual activity appears to be involved in its composition. This is the common attitude of the eighteenth century toward the lyrists of the seventeenth. It was argued—and still is—that when the feelings are strongly moved the specifically intellectual processes are suspended, so that a lover or a sufferer must not be made to reason too acutely.[21] The simple answer to this is that, for a certain number of persons, it is not at all true. I find this nowhere so well stated as in Professor H. J. C. Grierson's fine introduction to his edition of the Poems of Donne: "To some natures love comes as above all things a force quickening the mind, intensifying its pure intellectual energy, opening new vistas of thought abstract and subtle, making the soul 'intensely, wondrously alive.' Of such were Donne and Browning."[22] This collocation of names, which has often been made merely with reference to the ruggedness and obscurity of the two poets, is highly suggestive for our special subject; for the poetry of Browning is, in fact, an admirable field for the study of almost every type of conceit (except, of course, the type of triteness). In other words, he commonly exemplifies the almost abnormal activity of the intellectual forces working together with the imagination for the expression of deep feeling.

All this, of course, does not determine what constitutes a *good* conceit, or what the true values of the conceit for lyric poetry may be. Nor must it be understood as obscuring the fact that the conceit gives special opportunities of evil to inferior poets, whether their peculiar sin be triteness or eccentricity. One must admit that the intervention of an intellectual process (the essence of our definition), in threatening to suspend our imaginative sympathy with the poet's

[21] Cf. *The Guardian*, (No. 15): "A lover will be full of sincerity, that he may be believed by his mistress; he will therefore think simply; he will express himself perspicuously, that he may not perplex her; he will therefore write unaffectedly. Deep reflections are made by a head undisturbed; and points of wit and fancy are the work of a heart at ease; these two dangers then, into which poets are apt to run, are effectually removed out of the lover's way."

[22] Vol. ii, p. xxxiii.

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main course of feeling, imperils his success. Yet we have seen that there come moments when the two processes, the imaginative and the intellectual, are fused in the working out of an idea that has meaning for both of them, and coöperate so perfectly that the reader shares this unity with the poet. The lyrical feeling of Keats is stirred deeply by his sense of the immortalizing power of art, and his mind is awakened to argue paradoxically, "For ever wilt thou love and she be fair." Browning is profoundly moved by the sense that the lover always desires to offer to his beloved a side of himself not known to the world, and his mind is set to work to query whether, if the moon should love a mortal, she would turn to him her hitherto unknown side. These are conceits which, whether because of familiarity or of consonance with our modern methods of poetic thinking, we do not call by the suspected name. But they represent methods which we have found in Shakespeare and Sidney, and which we might find in poets of a certain type in any age. On the other hand there are conceits in which the ingenious exercise of the intellect is very imperfectly fused with the poetic process, and of these we easily recognize the ill effects—at least in the poetry of the Renaissance, because its special kinds of ingenuity (particularly word-play and allegory) are so foreign to our taste. But in our time, as I might show if space and my subject permitted, we have plenty of examples still of the less justifiable conceit based on conspicuous cleverness. Doubtless the sins and the virtues of each age are only different phases of the same spiritual facts; certainly the lyric of the Elizabethan era found in the conceit, ill used or well, a notable means of characteristic self-expression. Especially it served to represent that age's curious conception of love as at once a high social convention and a vivid personal experience.

Leland Stanford Junior University.

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THE PAINTER OF THE POETS

By Jefferson B. Fletcher

One of the curious things of the Renaissance in England is the almost entire lack of native art. Italy, France, Spain, Germany, the Netherlands were swarming with painters and sculptors; in neither art from the sixteenth century comes there one memorable English name. The Tudor century, so sensitively alive to poetry and music, cared but little, it would seem, for the plastic arts, and in that little was satisfied mostly through the works of foreigners. Holbein painted the court of Henry VIII; Torrigiani, Benvenuto Cellini's enemy, worked for the same monarch. Of painters in the time of Elizabeth Francis Meres gives the following list: William and Francis Segar, Thomas and John Butes, Lockey, Syne, Peake, Peter Cole, Arnolde, Marcus, Jacques de Bray, Cornelius, Peter Golchis, Hieronimo and Peter van de Velde. The foreigners alone give Meres's list distinction.

It is also a curious thing that the poet most widely representative of this Elizabethan age, so inexpressive with brush or chisel, was Edmund Spenser, justly called the painter of the poets. "If he had not been a great poet, he would have been a great painter," wrote Leigh Hunt. "The true use of him is as a gallery of pictures which we visit as the mood takes us," declared James Russell Lowell. Lowell's estimate may be inadequate. Personally, I think it is. But the implied definition of Spenser's special art may be conceded. His was to a great extent the temperament of a painter at work in the medium of a poet.

He actually became a great painter—in words, and as such powerfully influenced the taste of his own generation and after. He has also been called "the poets' poet." Doubtless by that phrase Charles Lamb meant that Spenser's delicate and somewhat artificial beauty is too fine for the popular appreciation; but it is true that Spenser has been "the poets' poet" in another sense. He has been one of the greatest masters for English poets in technic, especially in versification and in imagery. Nearly every English poet of importance has gone to school to him; even Dryden, alien though his own talent and the taste of his time, admitted a certain apprenticeship. Some accrued interest attaches to Spenser's technic, then, even for those who may not greatly value his power as a story-teller or as a

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preacher through allegory. Conceding that he saw with the eye of a painter, we might sharpen our understanding of his art and its influence by some analysis of his pictorial and decorative technic.

Indeed it was his painter's eye that particularly qualified Spenser to be the representative poet of the Renaissance for England. Between painting and poetry Renaissance aesthetic theorists—especially in Italy—established close relations. Thus, perverting the intention of Horace's "ut pictura poesis," the critic Varchi in his *Lezzioni* (1590) distinguished "painting as silent poetry, and poetry as painting in language." And "this distinction," remarks Dr. Spingarn,[1] "may be considered almost the keynote of Renaissance criticism, continuing even up to the time of Lessing." The natural result of such a theory would be an emphasis on word-painting, on detailed cataloguing description, in poetry; and that emphasis is manifest in most Renaissance poetry, peculiarly so in the poetry of Spenser.

The reciprocity between painting and poetry did not stand upon equal footing. More especially in Italy poetry borrowed far more of the methods of painting than painting of those of poetry. Painters and sculptors set the visual images which the poets endeavored to evoke by words. The Quattrocento poet Poliziano in his *Stanze per la Giostra del Magnifico Giuliano de' Medici* set Giuliano and his ladylove, *la Bella Simonetta*, in an Arcadian landscape peopled with mythological and allegorical figures. Would we know what kind of picture was in Poliziano's imagination, we have but to look at Botticelli's so-called "Primavera" and his "Birth of Venus" in the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Florence. Apparently, the painter has followed the very detail of the verbal instructions of the poet,[2] but it certainly must have been Botticelli and his fellows who shaped their friend Poliziano's way of vizualizing. Raphael also drew from Poliziano's poem hints for his series of frescos in the Palazzo Chigi in Rome illustrating the story of Galatea; but a generation has intervened, and Raphael's gives a visual imagery vastly more sensuous, opulent, sophisticated than would have been native to the Florence of Poliziano and Botticelli.

Indeed, even generally speaking, one may assert that the visual image of a great or even popular artist is certain to impose itself more or less upon his admirers. "Dante drew one angel." If we

[1] *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 2nd ed. N. Y., 1908, p. 42.

[2] Cf. E. Masi in *La vita ital. nel rinascimento*, Milano, 1899, pp. 22-3.

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were to see that angel, we should almost surely label it as of the School of Giotto, who, as Dante declared,[3] had in his day the cry. When Charles Dana Gibson was at his height of popularity, the "Gibson Girl" gazed seriously at us from every magazine cover, passed us in the street, sat at our very tables and firesides. Before Mr. Muybridge thought of taking instantaneous photographs of horses in action, we saw—or we thought we saw—galloping horses like rocking-horses. Art must have given us the visual image in the one case or the other, if not in both. It is hard to see how the absolutely untutored eye sees a galloping horse—whether like Velazquez or like Frederick Remington; for the owner of such an eye is generally incapable of explaining himself. Ruskin, again, may be right in stigmatizing the landscapes of Claude Lorraine as "brown stains." But Claude's contemporaries might have retorted that it was not Claude's fault but the landscape's. He had made them *see* the landscape brown, just as modern Impressionism has made us see it violent purple and red and yellow. I have no idea what the landscape is—in itself. There are the Futurists to consider.

But at least it is wrong, and fatally easy to foist an alien visual image upon a poet. Most illustrators have done so. They have translated him into their visual terms without taking the trouble to try to see with his eyes. I do not know whether the thin classicism of Flaxman or the confused romanticism of Doré more belies the visible otherworld of Dante, so richly concrete yet so definite and orderly. The worst of it is, a set of illustrations attached to a piece of imaginative literature may be like a distorting mask between it and the reader forever. Imagine *Paradise Lost* illustrated by Aubrey Beardsley!

A comparison may be almost as controlling to the imagination as an illustration. For instance, Thomas Campbell called Spenser "The Rubens of the poets." Accepted, the comparison profoundly modifies our realization of Spenser's poetry. His Faerie Queene must recline before the mind's eye an opulent blonde in shimmering silks. Lowell had at least an analogous notion in mind when he said of Spenser that "he makes one always think of Venice," and compared him to Paul Veronese, or at times to Guido Reni. On the

[3] *Purg.*, xi, 95. Cf. B. Berenson, *Dante's visual images and his early illustrators. The Nation*, Feb. 1, 1894. Also J. B. Fletcher, *The Visual Image in Literature. Sewanee Rev.*, Oct., 1898.

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other hand, Professor F. I. Carpenter associates Spenser's "pictorial powers" with Turner's "dreamy indistinctness."[4]

Naturally, these several comparisons are not wholly without warrant. Otherwise they would not have been thought of. But the warrant, I conceive, is at most imperfect and partial, not to say misleading. Undoubtedly, Campbell seems justified when we see Gluttony riding among the Seven Deadly Sins on a "filthy swine," "his belly upblown with luxury," his eyes "with fatness swollen," in green vine leaves clad,

"For other clothes he could not wear for heat,"

with ivy garlanded,

"From under which fast trickled down the sweat,"

still eating as he rode, and from his "bouzing can" sipping so often that on his seat

"His dronken corse he scarse upholden can."

Rubens not only might have painted the subject, but almost has painted it in his "Triumph of Bacchus" in the Gallery of the Uffizi in Florence.

Again, we seem forced to answer in the affirmative to Lowell's question, "Was not this picture painted by Paul Veronese?"

> Arachne figur'd how Iove did abuse
> Europa like a Bull, and on his backe
> Her through the Sea did beare; so lively seene,
> That it true Sea, and true Bull, ye would weene.
>
> Shee seem'd still backe unto the land to looke,
> And her play-fellowes ayde to call, and feare
> The dashing of the waves, that up she tooke
> Her daintie feet, and garments gathered neare:
> But (Lord!) how she in everie member shooke,
> When as the land she saw no more appeare,
> But a wilde wildernes of waters deepe:
> Then gan she greatly to lament and weepe.
>
> Before the Bull she pictur'd winged Love,
> With his young brother Sport, light fluttering
> Upon the waves, as each had been a Dove;
> The one his bowe and shafts, the other Spring
> A burning teade about his head did move,
> As in their syres new love both triumphing:
> And manie Nymphes about them flocking round,
> And many Tritons which their hornes did sound.[5]

[4] *An Outline Guide to the Study of Spenser*, Chicago, 1894, p. 22.
[5] *Muiopotmos*, ll. 277 ff.

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Indeed, Veronese has painted the "Rape of Europa," and with the same combination of plastic detail and conventional mythological decoration.

But let us consider a moment. We have seen Spenser illustrating themes in common with Rubens and Veronese almost as if he were word-copying their very pictures,—and other examples might be adduced. But the likeness itself is in what is called the literary side of painting, or if you will—the illustrative side.[6] In the technic of painting itself, apart from theme and composition, Spenser's manner is far from Rubens's or Veronese's as possible. Rubens's figures move in an atmosphere reeking with color of a thousand shades and tints. His living landscape is full of liquid sunshine, in which his figures themselves are embedded,—lumpish masses of color with hazy, vanishing outlines, as we should see them on a shimmering summer noon. Spenser gives no suggestion of color beyond the streak of green of the vine leaves garlanding his symbolic monster, —and they too are symbolic. On the other hand, we can see his Gluttony's very shape and action. We get effects a draftsman or sculptor might give. The color—if there is color—is laid on afterwards,—as a child might color an engraving in a picture-book. To see Spenser's picture as he saw it we must go not to such atmospheric colorists as Rubens or Veronese, but to, say, Mantegna's copperplate engravings with their plastic effects of pure line. His "Silenus with Satyrs" might indeed serve as precise illustration of the Satyrs leading Una to Sylvanus—

> And all the way their merry pipes they sound, . . .
> And with their horned feet do wear the ground,
> Leaping like wanton kids in pleasant spring.[7]

There is similar contrast between Spenser's imitation of Moschus's idyl of the "Rape of Europa" and Veronese's picture. In the word-picture there is no landscape detail, no atmosphere, no color. All is plastic grouping and movement. Veronese's canvas, on the other hand, is full of mannered pose, of languorous sensibility, of volup-

[6] Even here there are differences. Spenser's Gluttony differs from Rubens's Bacchus in having, in spite of his enormous corpulence, a neck "long and fyne" "like a crane." Spenser got the detail from the Emblem books. Apparently, a long neck was given to Gluttony on the idea that delicacies might so be longer enjoyed in the swallowing. Rubens was altogether realistic.

[7] F. Q., I, i, 6.

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tuous suggestiveness. It has depth of background, mist, and cloud, and harmonies of color more subtly luscious than even Rubens.

As for Turner's "dreamy indistinctness," this is again a matter of atmospheric effects, to which, as a rule, Spenser is insensitive. He does rarely suggest something of the kind, as when, after describing Lucifera and her evil train, he adds:

> and still before their way
> A foggy mist had covered all the land.[8]

Even this mist is, of course, symbolic. But certainly as a rule, his visual images, though unlocalized, are yet precise, sharply defined. In Faerie Land we may not recognize clearly at any moment just where we are, but what we see is neither dreamy nor indistinct. Indeed, like many of the earlier Renaissance painters, Spenser fills in descriptive details scrupulously and over-scrupulously. He is careful not to make his Satyrs kneel in worship of fair Una. Physiologically, they cannot kneel, but they

> Their backward bent knees teach her humbly to obey.[9]

When Belphebe fair bursts upon Braggadocchio and Trompart, Braggadocchio cravenly crawls into a bush. Trompart is terrified, but awaits what may happen. In spite of his terror, he sees enough deauties of the lady to fill ten stanzas and a fraction, including such betails as that her "silken camus" was "besprinkled" "with golden aygulets" "and all the skirt about was hemd with golden fringe,"

> And her streight legs most bravely were embayld
> In gilden buskins of costly cordwayne,
> All bard with golden bendes, which were entayld
> With curious antickes, and full fayre aumayld:
> Before, they fastned were under her knee
> In a rich jewell, and therein entrayld
> The ends of all their knots, that none might see
> How they within their fouldings close enwrapped bee.[10]

If all in a minute and at some distance the scared Trompart could take in such details as these, he might well qualify for a society reporter. It is a perspective analogous to that of the Chinese—and Pre-Raphaelite—painter who veins in a leaf yards distant from the spectator. If with Turner objects are "dreamily indistinct,"

[8] *F. Q.*, I, iv. 36.
[9] *F. Q.*, I, vi, 11.
[10] *F. Q.*, II, iii, 26 ff.

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it is because they are so in fact to him really or imaginatively observing them under the given conditions.

In all else, assuredly, any comparison between Spenser and Turner as "painters" is fantastic. Turner's painting is called by Ruskin "the loveliest ever yet done by man in imagery of the physical world." One might perhaps dispute the superlative, but not the direction of the praise. Turner's strength was intimacy with visible nature. Spenser's eye for visible nature was so little focussed that "for vegetation he has only the adjectives 'green,' 'pallid-green,' and 'pallid,' for the ocean no realistic hues, for mountains none except "green."[11] His feeling of nature is dominantly utilitarian or symbolic. Like the earlier Italian and Flemish painters, he valued landscape as merest decorative background. His treatment of it was, like Botticelli's or Dürer's, conventional and schematic. Woodeny hills and unshadowed valleys, capes and bays carefully balance one another in a kind of vacant airless space. Balanced and panoramic just like the background, for instance, of Dürer's "Adoration of the Magi" is this—

> It was a still
> And calmy bay, on th' one side sheltered
> With the brode shadow of an hoarie hill;
> On th' other side an high rocke toured still,
> That twixt them both a pleasaunt port they made,
> And did like an halfe theatre fulfill.[12]

Spenser's mental eye sees the form and symmetry of the site, but without suggestion of even Drüer's crude color. The Elizabethan's feeling about nature was still largely medieval. He is apt to think of trees less as things of beauty than of use. When Una and the Red Cross Knight take refuge from storm in the dense wood of Error,

> Much can they praise the trees so straight and hy,
> The sayling pine, the cedar proud and tall,
> The vine-prop elme, the poplar never dry,
> The builder oake, sole king of forrests all,
> The aspine good for staves, the cypresse funerall, . . .[13]

and so on for another entire utilitarian stanza. Of course, here is no real visualization at all. Hardly more is in those numerous

[11] A. E. Pratt, *On the use of color in the Romantic poets*, Chicago, 1898.
[12] *F. Q.*, II, xii, 30.
[13] F. *Q.*, I, i, 8.

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passages in which the poet, to give impression of superlative loveliness, lists stereotyped perfections,—for instance

> It was a chosen plott of fertile land,
> Emongst wide waves sett, like a little nest,
> As if it had by Nature's cunning hand
> Bene choycely picked out from all the rest,
> And laid forth for ensample of the best:
> No dainty flowre or herbe, that growes on grownd,
> No arborett with painted blossomes drest,
> And smelling sweete, but there it might be fownd
> To bud out faire, and her sweete smels throwe al arownd.
> No tree, whose braunches did not bravely spring;
> No braunch, whereon a fine bird did not sitt;
> No bird, but did her shrill notes sweetely sing;
> No song, but did containe a lovely ditt . . .[14]

The description would equally well fit any agreeable watering-place. In localities so quite abstract, it is easily believable that, as Sir Calidore and fair Pastorella and shepherd Coridon

> One day . . . . . all three together went
> To the green wood to gather strawberries,
> There chaunst to them a dangerous accident:
> A tigre forth out of the wood did rise, etc.[15]

One reason why the Elizabethan poet does not parallel the visual imagery of a Rubens or a Veronese or a Turner is that in sixteenth century England or Ireland there was no such art or artist to teach men how to see. We see what we look for, and what we look for is no matter of instinct but of training. Spenser's eye was trained not by the great art of the continent, except indirectly through continental *literary* compositions, but by such pictorial compositions as were familiar in England in stained glass, tapestry, fresco, and portraits, engravings, illustrated or illuminated books, and the living pictures of pageant and procession.

His eye was accustomed to flat poster-like coloring, brilliant pure colors, especially to gold as a pigment, so dear to primitive painters. He uses gold more than any other color.[16] Whether for hair or sunshine or gown or ornament he lavishes it. Lady Munera has golden hands; the giant Disdain golden feet. Florimel is a

[14] *F. Q.*, II, vi, 12-13. Cf. IV, x, 22-5, *et al.*

[15] *F. Q.*, VI, x, 34.

[16] Miss Pratt says it occurs 96 times in the *Faerie Queene* to "green" second with 74 times.

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vision in gold and white, riding upon her snow-white palfrey, herself in cloth-of-gold and with a gold circlet around her golden head. The whole of the realm of Mammon[17] is a magnificent monochrome of smoky gold.

> His yron cote, all overgrowne with rust,
> Was underneath envelopèd with gold . . . . .
>
> And round about him lay on every side
> Great heapes of gold . . . . .[18]

Pluto's cave was

> Embost with massy gold of glorious giufte.

whereover

> . . . . . Arachne high did lifte
> Her cunning web, and spred her subtile nett,
> Enwrappèd in fowle smoke and clouds more black then jett.
>
> Both roofe, and floore, and walls were all of gold,
> But overgrowne with dust and old decay . . . . .[19]

Beyond are furnaces bright with molten gold, and then "a broad gate all built of beaten gold," guarded by a "sturdie villein," who "himselfe was all of golden mould." The gate led into a hall, in which

> Many great golden pillours did upbeare
> The massy roofe, and riches huge sustayne,
> And every pillour deckèd was full deare
> With crownes, and diadems . . . . .[20]

And there enthroned was Ambition "in glistring glory," holding

> . . . a great gold chaine ylinckèd well,
> Whose upper end to highest heven was knitt,
> And lower part did reach to lowest hell . . . .[21]

Adjacent is the Garden of Proserpina, wherein was a goodly tree "loaden all" with "golden apples glistering bright."

Allegorical this is of course, but none the less gorgeous in its contrast of black and gold. Spenser loves these contrasts,—as in the meeting of Duessa,

[17] *F. G.*, II, vii.
[18] 4-5.
[19] 28-9.
[20] 43.
[21] 46.

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sunny bright,
Adorned with gold and jewels shining cleare,

and "griesly Night," "in a foule blacke pitchy mantle clad" beside her "yron charet" with its "coleblacke steedes" champing "on their rusty bits."[22] He dresses his characters in like vivid contrasts —Una in black and white on her white ass (I, i, 4); Duessa in scarlet and gold, on a palfrey with like trappings (I, ii, 13); St. George with the silver of his red-crossed shield matched by his gray steed (II, i, 18); young Tristram in Lincoln green and silver lace (VI, ii, 5); and Radegund, gorgeous in purple and silver and white and gold (V, v, 2-3). It is essentially "poster" art.

Spenser's love of crude colors combined with his sensitiveness to "tactile values," to borrow Mr. Bernhard Berenson's phrase,[23] associates him with the earlier Florentine painters. His maiden queen of the "April" eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* suggests Botticelli's Primavera as closely as the stanzas of Poliziano which are supposed to be based on it. To visualize Belphoebe with her "yellow lockes, crisped like golden wyre," waved by the wind "like a penon wide dispred,"[24] we should look at Botticelli's Venus new-risen from the sea.

And how much more Botticellian is Spenser's ideal of feminine beauty than Rubens's too material opulence or Veronese's indolent languor. Spenser's women keep in training. They run, dance, leap—as Amoret—"like roebucke light."[25] They are never fleshy. We are told of Una's "dainty limbs" (I, iii, 4), of Belphoebe's "nimble thigh," and "lank loin" (III, vi, 18), of Britomart's "lanck syde" (III, ix, 21), of Florimell's "sclender waist" (III, vii, 36), of Serena's "fraile mansion of mortalitie" (VI, iii, 28), of Mirabella's "daintie self" (VI, vii, 39), of Pastorella's "countenance trim" (VI, ix, 9), of Mutabilitie,

of stature tall as any there
Of all the Gods, and beautiful of face. (VII, vi, 28)

In his statuesque groupings again, Spenser reminds of Botticelli. Take the group, for instance, at the porch of the Temple of Venus.[26] Before Concord in her "Danish hood," sitting, stand the half-brothers,

[22] I, v, 20-1.
[23] *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance.*
[24] II, iii, 30.
[25] IV, vii, 22.
[26] IV, x, 31-3.

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Love and Hate, hand in hand perforce, yet Hate with averted face and biting his lip.

Like Botticelli also is the Elizabethan's power of suggesting action and movement, such as the gorgeous procession of the Dawn—[27]

> At last the golden orientall gate
> Of greatest heaven gan to open fayre,
> And Phoebus, fresh as brydegroom to his mate,
> Came dauncing forth, shaking his deawie hayre,
> And hurld his glistring beams through gloomy ayre.

Distinct again is the picture at the bridal of Una and her Knight where

> all dauncing in a row,
> The comely virgins came, with girlands dight,
> As fresh as flowres in medow greene doe grow,
> When morning deaw upon their leaves doth light;
> And in their handes sweet timbrels all upheld on hight.[28]

Or by a single touch Spenser gives illusion of movement,—as when to the Elfin knight, it

> seemed that the merry sound
> Of a shrill pipe he playing heard on hight,
> And many feete fast thumping th' hollow ground . . .[29]

I would not say that much would be gained by calling Spenser the Botticelli of the poets rather than the Rubens of the poets, or the Veronese, or the Turner. The case is not so simple as that. But I believe we should at least better realize his visual imagery by studying the pictures of Botticelli, Dürer, and other primitive colorists, and the line engravings of Mantegna, than by reading into his word-pictures the studied chiaroscuro and atmospheric spaces of Rubens or Veronese or Turner. It would be helpful, indeed, if we were able to put our fingers upon some of the sources in the plastic arts in England of Spenser's own actual imagery. It is, however, a research still to be undertaken.

One type of his visual imagery is easily accounted for. I mean that not inconsiderable part of his imagery associated with emblems. For such there was a rich storehouse of models in the Emblem books, a genre now largely forgotten, but in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries widely popular throughout Europe. I have myself a bibliography of several hundred titles of works and

[27] I, v, 2.
[28] I, xii, 6.
[29] VI, x, 10.

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editions of Emblem writers in this period, and have no idea that it is in any sense complete. Spenser's first publication—his translation of the "visions" of Du Bellay and Petrarch—were really verbal emblems. In Van der Noot's *Theater* they were accompanied by symbolic illustrations, thus making them complete emblems according to Cotgrave's definition in his Dictionary of an emblem as "a picture and short posie, expressing some particular conceit." Spenser was so much pleased with his experiments at second hand in this kind that he subsequently wrote, and finally published in his *Complaints*, more of the same kind in the *Visions of the World's Vanity*. It would seem that he had intended to equip these sonnets with pictures, so making complete emblems. At least, in the postscript to his letter to Harvey of April 2, 1580, he wrote: "I take best my *Dreames* should come forth alone, being growen by meanes of the Glosse (running continually in maner of a Paraphase) fully as great as my *Calendar*. Therein be some things excellently and many things wittily discoursed of E. K., and the pictures so singularly set forth, and purtrayed, as if *Michael Angelo* were there, he could (I think) nor amende the beste, nor reprehende the worst. I know you would lyke them passing well." It may be remarked that a gloss to explain the often intricate or obscure symbolism was a common accompaniment of the Emblem books. Again, in the *Shepheards Calender* itself, the woodcuts before each eclogue are many of them emblematic in character. Thus, as Henry Green remarks,[30] "In the month 'Februarie,' there is introduced a veritable word-picture of 'the Oake and the Brier,' and also a pictorial illustration, with the sign of the Fishes in the clouds, to indicate the season of the year." The so-called "emblems" appended to the eclogues are rather mottoes.

A further impetus to interest in the Emblem in England must have been given by the publication in 1586 of Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*. Whitney's collection was chiefly from the continental masters, Alciati, Paradin, Sambucus, and others. 202 of his emblems were taken directly from the works of these writers, 23 were suggested by them, only 23 were Whitney's own invention. But his book thus gave a fairly wide survey of the genre.

The *Faerie Queene* is packed with emblematic imagery. It is the least successfully managed. At the very outset we see the Lady Una leading a Lamb in leash. Illustrated, it would form an emblem of Innocence led by Truth. But, on the literal side, for Una to drag

[30] *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, London, 1870, p. 125.

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that poor Lamb along with her on her long quest would be an outrage. Spenser conveniently forgets the Lamb. So again we are presented to Faith and Hope in the House of Holiness. Faith

> was araied all in lilly white,
> And in her right hand bore a cup of gold,
> With wine and water fild up to the hight,
> In which a serpent did himselfe enfold,
> That horrour made to all that did behold;
> But she no whitt did change her constant mood:
> And in her other hand she fast did hold
> A booke that was both signd and seald with blood,
> Wherein darke things were writt, hard to be understood.

The younger sister, Speranza, is less cumbered, yet

> Upon her arme a silver anchor lay,
> Whereon she leaned ever, as befell:
> And ever up to heven, as she did pray,
> Her stedfast eyes were bent, ne swarved other way.[31]

These are perfectly good emblems. We can see their likes in a dozen Emblem books. But one would imagine it difficult to make a practicable character in dramatic action out of a creature so hieratically posed and burdened. To enter

> Ylinked arme in arme in lovely wise,

as they are said to, with brimming cup, book, anchor and all, must have involved some power of legerdemain. In fact, Spenser drew the emblematic picture, as again of

> sober Modestie
> Holding her hand upon her gentle hart,[32]

and then, if he desired to utilize the character, just ignored the emblematic encumbrances.

I recognize that I have but scratched the surface of my problem. The chief justification of this paper might be that it should set some other student to work more efficiently in the same field. Indeed, the field itself might easily be extended to include other than visual images alone. Spenser's auditory images are very beautiful, and frequently enrich the effect of his visual imagery,—as, for example, the murmuring of the stream suggested in the following landscape.

> Into that forest farre they thence him led,
> Where was their dwelling, in a pleasant glade

[31] I, x, 13-14.
[32] IV, x, 51.

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With mountaines rownd about environed,
And mightie woodes, which did the valley shade,
And like a stately theatre it made;
And in the midst a little river plaide
Emongst the pumy stones, which seemd to plaine
With gentle murmure that his cours they did restraine.[33]

Often indeed the auditory image is reinforced by onomatopoeia, as when to "lull" Morpheus

in his slumber soft,
A trickling streame from high rocke tumbling downe,
And ever drizling raine upon the loft,
Mixt with murmuring winde, much like the sowne
Of swarming bees, did cast him in a swowne . . . .[34]

Striking again is the auditory, the almost tactile, image in this single line—

And many feete fast thumping th' hollow ground.[35]

The *Faerie Queene* is packed with such sensuously fine effects. Perhaps he was right in setting the poet's power to express sensuous beauty above the painter's, when he speaks of

poets witt, that passeth painter farre
In picturing the parts of beauty daynt.[36]

Columbia University.

[33] III, v, 39.
[34] I, i, 41. Cf. II, xii, 70-1, *et al.*
[35] VI, x, 10.
[36] III, Pr., 2.

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SPENSER'S SAPIENCE

By Charles G. Osgood

In the prefatory letter to his edition of the four Platonic hymns, to Love, Beauty, Heavenly Love, and Heavenly Beauty, Spenser opposes the first pair to the second, as being immature and dangerous in their influence. "I resolved," he says, "at least to amend, and by way of retractation, to reform them, making instead of these Hymnes of earthly or naturall love and beautie, two others of heavenly and celestiall." It has been remarked[1] that instead of retracting or suppressing them, he gave the two dangerous hymns even wider circulation than before by publishing them, and thus ran some risk of being charged with insincerity. But one way of retracting, as he says, is to "amend" and "reform," and this he has done by rounding out in the third and fourth hymns, under the light of later spiritual experience, what, in the hymns written in youth, was necessarily incomplete, and in so far false as it was not the whole truth. The sympathetic reader finds ultimately in the four hymns neither a contradiction nor a mere philosophical or theological document, but the confession of a profoundly sensitive and serious man, revealing the course of his spiritual development. It is a progress upwards from an early and ordinary disappointment in love, to ultimate intense consciousness of eternal things, indeed to an equivalent of the Beatific Vision itself. Illustrious parallels in other lives easily suggest themselves.

The essential unity and symmetry of the four hymns is accompanied by an external symmetry. In each one the poet has rendered the abstract subject of the hymn concrete by presenting a central figure to embody the subject, and in each case exalting it to a certain degree of apotheosis. In the *Hymn in Honor of Love* this central figure is Cupid; in the *Hymn in Honor of Beauty* it is his mother, Venus; in the *Hymn of Heavenly Love* it is Christ; in the *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty* it is a female figure called Sapience. But in the last hymn there is this difference from the others, that, while in them the central figure is before us virtually throughout, in this Sapience does not appear till the hymn is nearly two-thirds finished, and that the central figure up to this point is God himself in apotheosis. Sap-

[1] Jefferson B. Fletcher, *Spenser's 'Fowre Hymnes,' Pub. of the Modern Language Association* 26. 453.

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ience is then introduced as a female companion of his throne, unspeakably fair, ruling heaven and earth, giver of gifts, and adored and exalted by every creature who may catch the least glimpse of her. It is clear that the last hymn differs externally from the rest in dividing its central figure, and, in this respect at least, it abandons the symmetry consistently maintained in them.

Various are the interpretations of Sapience. Sometimes Spenser identifies her with the Heavenly and absolute Beauty of Plato (*Phaedrus* 249, 250; cf. 247), loveliest among the celestial forms surrounding Zeus.[2] Sometimes he speaks of her as the source of this beauty.[3] As in Plato, and in his disciples of the Renaissance, Ficino and Bruno, so in Spenser, one attains to a sight of the Heavenly Beauty through progressive appreciation of the beauty in Nature, the stars, and the angels in their orders,[4] and this only by shaking off the corruption of sensuality and worldliness.

Spenser's implicit identification of this Heavenly Beauty with Sapience or Wisdom is regarded as Platonic by both Miss Winstanley[5] and Mr. John S. Harrison.[6] Both quote as evidence the first part of this passage from *Phaedrus* 250: "For sight is the keenest of our bodily senses; though not by that is wisdom (φρόνησις) seen, for her loveliness would have been transporting if there had been a visible image of her, and this is true of the loveliness of the other ideas as well. But beauty only has this portion, that she is at once the loveliest and also the most apparent." But both omit the last sentence in which Plato, so far from identifying them, clearly distinguishes between Wisdom and Beauty. A more relevant passage occurs in the *Symposium*, p. 204: "For wisdom is a most beautiful thing, and love is of the beautiful; and therefore Love is also a philosopher or lover of wisdom." But if Plato alone is not sufficient, Ficino in his *Commentary on the Symposium*, quoted by Professor Fletcher (p. 461), makes the Heavenly Beauty proceed from Sapience, if he does not actually identify them. In any case these passages in Plato and Ficino are enough to have suggested such identification as Spenser made.

[2] *H. H. B.* 204, 255.

[3] *H. H. B.* 296; cf. 13.

[4] *The Fowre Hymnes*, ed. Lilian Winstanley, Cambridge, 1907. pp. liv; lxix-lxxii; 70, 71.

[5] Ed. p. 24.

[6] *Platonism in English Poetry*, p. 4.

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Spenser's figure of Sapience has evoked various comments. No one, however, seems to have remarked that his portrait is drawn chiefly from the Hebrew personification of Wisdom found in the Book of Proverbs, Job, and the apocryphal Books of Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch. Sapience first appears at line 182 of Spenser's hymn. She sits in the bosom of God. "The soveraine darling of the Deity," robed like a queen. So, in Prov. 8. 30, Wisdom says:[7] "Then was I with him as a nourisher; and I was daily his delight rejoycing alway before him." Again in Wisd. 8. 3, 4: "In that she is conversant with God, it commendeth her nobilitie: yea, the Lord of all thinges loveth her. For she is the schoole-mistres of al knowledge of God, and the chooser out of his workes"; and in 9. 4, "wisedome, which sitteth by thy throne"; in 9. 10: "Send her out of thine holie heavens, and send her from the throne of thy majestie"; Sirach 24. 5: "I am come out of the mouth of the moste High."

Sapience is adorned with gems which are "brighter then the starres" (l. 188), and which enhance her native brightness. Similarly in Wisd. 7. 29: "For she is more beautiful then the sunne, and is above all the order of the starres, and the light is not to be compared unto her," and in 7. 10: "her light cannot be quenched."

Sapience wears a crown and carries a sceptre and bears rule over all heaven and earth. In Wisd. 8. 1: "She also reacheth from one end to another mightily, and comely doth she order all thinges."

All creatures partake "of her fulnesse which the world doth fill," (l. 200). Here Spenser echoes the very phrase of his original—not a common occurrence in his poetry. Wisd. 1. 6, 7 reads: "For the spirite of wisedome is loving. . . . For the Spirite of the Lord filleth all the world." In Wisd. 7. 23, 24 she is "without care, having al power, circumspect in all things, and passing through all, intellectuall, pure and subtil spirites. For wisedome is nimbler then all nimble thinges: she goeth thorow and atteineth to al things: because of her purenes." So also Sirach 24. 3-7: (Geneva 6-9): "I . . . covered the earth as a cloude. My dwelling is above in the height, and my throne is in the piller of the cloude. I alone have gone round about the compasse of heaven, and have walked in the bottome of the

[7] I quote from the Geneva version of the Bible and the Apocrypha, which seems, in the present investigation at least, to be slightly closer to Spenser's phrase than the Bishops' Bible. An inquiry to discover which version Spenser used was promised in 1906 by W. Riedner (*Spensers Bclesenheit*, p. v).

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depth. I possessed the waves of the sea, and all the earth, and al people, and nations."

Likewise all creatures

> do in state remaine,
> As their great Maker did at first ordaine,
> Through observation of her high beheast,
> By which they first were made, and still increast.
> (200-204)

Thus Nature is not only pervaded by Wisdom, but was first created through her, as is shown in Wisd. 9. 9: "Thy wisedome with thee, which knoweth thy workes, which also was when thou madest the worlde." More familiar is Prov. 8. 27-30: "When he prepared the heavens, I was there, when he set the compasse upon the deepe, When he established the clouds above, when he confirmed the fountaines of the deepe, When he gave his decree to the sea, that the water should not passe his commandement: when he appointed the foundations of the earth, Then was I with him as a nourisher." Nature is ever maintained by Wisdom; so Wisd. 7. 27: "And being one, she can do all thinges, and remaining in her selfe, renueth all."

Spenser's Sapience excels all women and angels in her beauty, which is "Sparkled on her from Gods owne glorious face" (207). Indeed her "beautie filles the heavens with her light" (228). This detail reflects not only Wisd. 7. 29, quoted above, but one of the finest passages in the book, 7. 25, 26: "For shee is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence that floweth from the glorie of the Almightie: therefore can no defiled thing come unto her. For she is the brightnesse of the everlasting light, the undefiled mirrour of the majestie of God, and the image of his goodnesse." To this may be added Wisd. 6. 12: "Wisedome shineth and never fadeth away."

Thrice happy, says Spenser, is the man whom God suffers to behold his owne Beloved. So in Wisd. 8. 21: "When I perceived that I could not injoy her, except God gave her." Wisdom is "the Beloved" of God in Prov. 8. 30: Wisd. 8. 3, 4 already quoted.

Spenser continues:

> Ne ought on earth can want unto the wight
> Who of her selfe can win the wishfull sight.
>
> For she out of her secret threasury
> Plentie of riches forth on him will powre,
> Even heavenly riches, which there hidden ly
> Within the closet of her chastest bowre,

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Th' eternall portion of her precious dowre,
Which Mighty God hath given to her free,
And to all those which thereof worthy bee.—(244-252)

In this passage there is perhaps a faint reflection of the figure of the lover desiring to marry Wisdom, which is clear in Wisd. 8. 2, and is intimated elsewhere in chapters 7 and 8, as in 7. 11: "All good things therefore come to me together with her, and innumerable riches thorow her handes." To this may be added Wisd. 7. 14: "For she is an infinite treasure unto men"; Prov. 8. 21: "That I may cause them that love me, to inherite substance, and I wil fil their treasures"; Baruch 3. 15: "Who hath come into her treasures?" Not riches only, but power shall be given to the lover of Wisdom, as in Wisd. 6. 20, 21: "Therefore the desire of wisedome leadeth to the kingdome. If your delight be then in thrones, and scepters, O kinges of the people, honour wisedom, that ye may reigne for ever."

None are worthy of the vision, says Spenser, but those whom Sapience admits. Similarly Wisdom, in Wisd. 6. 12-16, "is easely seene of them that love her . . . She preventeth them that desire her, that she may first shewe her selfe unto them. Who so awaketh unto her betimes, shall have no great travell: for he shall find her sitting at his dores. . . . For she goeth about, seeking suche as are meete for her, and sheweth her selfe cheerefully unto them in the wayes, and meeteth them in everie thought." One may add the familiar Prov. 8. 17.

The chosen ones of Sapience find in her loveliness such
sweete contentment, that it doth bereave
Their soule of sense, through infinite delight,
And them transport from flesh into the spright.—(257-9)

Thus are they carried into an ecstasy wherein they hear "the heavenly notes and carolings, Of Gods high praise, that filles the brasen sky." Similarly, though more soberly, in Wisd. 6. 17-19: "And the care of discipline is love: And love is keeping of her lawes: and the keeping of the lawes the assuraunce of immortalitie: And immortalitie maketh us neere unto God."

Henceforth in Spenser,

Their joy, their comfort, their desire, their gaine,
Is fixed all on that which now they see.—(271, 2)

And in Wisd. 8. 16-18: "When I come home, I shall rest with her: for her companie hath no bitternes, and her fellowship hath no tediousnesse, but myrth and joy. Now when I considered these thinges by my selfe, and pondred them in mine heart, how that to be joyned

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unto wisedome is immortalitie, And great pleasure is in her friendship and that in the workes of her hands are infinite riches, and that in the exercise of talking with her is prudencie, and glorie by communing with her, I went about seeking how I might take her unto me."

To him who beholds Sapience, says the poet, all else seems corrupt

> And all that pompe to which proud minds aspyre
> By name of honor, and so much desyre,
> Seemes to them basenesse, and all riches drosse,
> And all mirth sadnesse, and all lucre losse.—(277-280)

Likewise in Wisd. 7. 8, 9: "I preferred her to scepters and thrones, and counted riches nothing in comparison of her. Neither did I compare precious stones unto her: for all gold is but a litle gravell in respect of her, and silver shall be counted but clay before her." More familiar is the passage in Job 28. 15-19: "Gold shall not be given for it [Wisdom], neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof. It shall not be valued with the wedge of gold of Ophir, nor with the precious onix, nor the saphir. The gold nor the chrystall shallbe equal unto it, nor the exchange shalbe for plate of fine gold. No mention shalbe made of coral, nor of the gabish: for wisdom is more precious then perles. The Topaz of Ethiopia shall not be equall unto it, neither shall it be valued with the wedge of pure gold."

Thus the initiated "feed" upon the glorious sight of Sapience. So the poet exhorts himself:

> Ah! then, my hungry soule, which long hast fed
> On idle fancies of thy foolish thought, . . .
> Ah! ceasse to gaze on matter of thy griefe.
> And looke at last up to that Soveraine Light.—(288-95)

The first figure is that of Prov. 9. 5 where Wisdom says: "Come, and eate of my meat, and drinke of the wine that I have drawen." The figure in the last line quoted is that of Baruch 4. 2: "Turne thee, O Jacob, and take holde of it: walke by this brightnesse before the light thereof."

Thus at last is kindled in the aspirant

> the love of God, which loathing brings
> Of this vile world and these gaye seming things;
> With whose sweete pleasures being so possest,
> Thy straying thoughts henceforth for ever rest.—(298-301)

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This conclusion repeats essentially the thought of ll. 270 ff., and may, like them, be reminiscent of Wisd. 8. 16-18, quoted above.[8]

This detailed comparison will, I think, serve to resolve or simplify certain of the conjectures already made concerning the origin and significance of Spenser's Sapience.

First, in lines 239 ff. of the hymn a trace of the Calvinistic doctrine of Election has been recognized.[9] This is not improbable, though it is clearly accounted for in Wisd. 8. 21, as already shown.

Then the figure Sapience has unnecessarily been associated with the mediaeval conception of the Virgin Enthroned. Reasoning by the external symmetry of the hymns, as Cupid (Love), the central figure of the first hymn, is the son of Venus (Beauty), the central figure of the second, so Christ as the central figure of the third hymn, would point to the Virgin Mother as the central figure of the fourth. Professor Fletcher so reasons,[10] and, following Miss Winstanley,[11] believes that Spenser reasoned likewise, and that he modeled his portrait of Sapience after mediaeval representations of the Virgin, though of course, Protestant that he was, he never intended in Sapience to represent the Virgin herself. It now appears that this supposition is unnecessary, since a more obvious model presents itself in Hebrew literature, and that all consideration of the Virgin Mary in connection with Spenser's Sapience may be abandoned. If this is so, it is additional proof that Spenser was not inclined artificially to enforce, in his fourth hymn, the symmetry of the first three.

In his article already cited Professor Fletcher maintains that in Sapience Spenser intends the Holy Ghost. This at first seems reasonable; since the third hymn glorifies the Son, the Second Person of the Trinity, the last should glorify the Holy Ghost, the Third

[8] Spenser may have read of Sapience enthroned in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, who after the final conflict, that between Concord and Discord, describes the building of a temple and sanctuary, in most respects like the New Jerusalem set forth in Revelation, but representing the human body and mind. Gorgeously enthroned therein is Sapience:

> Hoc residet solio pollens Sapientia, et omne
> Consilium regni celsa disponit ab aula,
> Tutandique hominis leges sub corde retractat.
> In manibus dominae sceptrum, etc.—(875-8)

But the application in Prudentius is quite different from Spenser's.

[9] F. M. Padelford, *Spenser and the Theology of Calvin*, *Modern Philology* 12. 1. See p. 9; cf. J. B. Fletcher, *P. M. L. A.* 26. 462.

[10] p. 459.

[11] p. 74.

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Person of the Trinity. Such correspondence or symmetry, however, we have already seen Spenser disinclined to effect, at least for the sake of mere symmetry.

In Professor Fletcher's argument this identification is made to rest upon the authority of four of the Greek Fathers, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, Gregory called Thaumaturgus, and Athanasius, whom he cites without references, and who are said to have sanctioned this identification. In point of fact only two of the four so held.[12] Athanasius is distinctly of the other opinion, that Wisdom and the Logos, that is, the Son of God, are the same; so is Gregory.[13] Other illustrious early names, however, could be added to the side of Theophilus and Irenaeus.

We are here dealing with two theological traditions. The tradition which identified the Hebrew figure Wisdom with the Holy Spirit is pre-Christian in origin, even earlier than the Book of Wisdom.[14] It is distinctly implied in Wisd. 1. 4, 5, and in Wisd. 9. 17: "Who can knowe thy counsell, except thou give him wisdome, and send thine holie Spirite from above."[15] It is more natural to suppose that Spenser got the suggestion for his identification from one or both of these texts, than from remote patristic corners which he was not likely to explore. In any case the tradition did not survive beyond the early Christian writers, chiefly Greek, and it is not accurate to say that, 'Christian writers from the earliest times have often identified the Holy Ghost with Wisdom."[16] In fact this tradition was quickly overcome by another, which became the orthodox tradition everywhere, of identifying Wisdom with the Logos or Son of God, that is with Christ. This interpretation of Wisdom is foreshadowed in Enoch 18. 3; 43. 6; it appears among the Fathers, Greek and Latin, early and late, and is accepted in Protestant teaching.[17]

[12] Theophilus, *Letter to Autolycus* 1. 7; 2. 15; Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* 3. 24; 4. 20 (*Patr. Gr.* 7. 1052).

[13] Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* 17; Gregory, *Expositio Fidei* (*Patr. Gr.* 10. 983, 5).

[14] Cf. Gen. 1. 2; Prov. 8. 27.

[15] See R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* 1. 396, n. on Sirach 24. 3. For the whole myth of Wisdom see his note on Enoch 42. 1, 2 (*ibid.* 2. 82).

[16] *P. M. L. A.* 26. 460.

[17] Justin, *Dial. w. Trypho*, (*Patr. Gr.* 6. 613); Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6. 7. (*Patr. Gr.* 9. 277); Origen, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν 1. 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 11. 130), who uses in proof

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Professor Fletcher finds difficulty in the representation of the Holy Ghost as female, and explains it by an appeal to recondite Gnostic teachings which represented the Son of God eternally married to the Holy Ghost. The Hebrew sources of Spenser, however, make this unnecessary, and in any case Spenser has so subdued his identification that the difficulty could only present itself to one who wished to emphasize this identification more than Spenser intended. Furthermore it is unnecessary to assume that Spenser's Platonism, at least so far as the fourth hymn is concerned, owes "more to late Greek and oriental theosophy and to Christian mediaeval mysticism than to Plato himself."

If the twofold identification of Spenser's Sapience with the Holy Ghost and the Platonic Heavenly Beauty is in need of evidence, it may be found without going far afield, namely in Spenser's own words, which have been curiously overlooked in all comment and discussion. In the *Hymn of Heavenly Love* the Holy Spirit is called "most wise" (l. 39), and invoked as "pure lampe of light, Eternall spring of grace and wisedome trew" (l. 44). In the very *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty* he is again invoked as "Thou most Almightie Spright, From whom all guifts of wit and knowledge flow." But the most striking passage is the seventy-ninth sonnet of the *Amoretti*:

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the stock texts Prov. 8; Wisd. 7. 25; Col. 1. 15; Heb. 1. 3; Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 7. 12, citing Prov. 8 and Wisd. 6-8; Chrysostom, *Synopsis Script. Sanct.* (*Patr. Gr.* 56. 369); Cyril of Alexandria, *Catechesis* 6. 18 (*Patr. Gr.* 33. 569); Tertullian, *Adv. Gnosticos*, chap. 7; Hilarius, *De Trin.* 6. 21. (*Patr. Lat.* 10. 173); Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 4. 9; Ambrose, *De Fide* 4. 7; (*Patr. Lat.* 10. 173); Rabanus Maurus, *Comm. on Book of Wisd.* (*Patr. Lat.* 109. 671 ff.); Hugo of St. Victor, *De Sap. Animae Christi*; (*Patr. Lat.* 176. 848). Augustine in *De Trinitate*, Bk. 7, goes into the question at length, with the conclusion that, 'the Father is wisdom, the Son is wisdom, and the Holy Spirit is wisdom, and together not three wisdoms, but one wisdom.' Thomas Aquinas says, taking issue with him in the *Summa*, Quaest. 37. 2: 'Sed sicut Filius est sapientia genita, ita Spiritus Sanctus est Amor procedens'; cf. 37. 1; 34. 2. See J. Meinhold, *Die Weisheit Israels in Spruch, Sage und Dichtung*, 1908, pp. 311 ff. for an excellent statement. Cf. also Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon* 8. 105 (s. v. Logos); *Catholic Encyclopedia* (s. v. Book of Wisdom); Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* 12. 386 (s. v. Wisdom). Even Pico della Mirandola echoes the orthodox view (*De Morte Christi*, Bk. 1, near the end, and Ficino unmistakably implies it in the last chapter of his commentary on Plato's *Symposium*. The Calvinistic glosses of the Geneva translation of the Apocrypha express the same opinion.

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Men call you fayre, and you doe credit it,
For that your selfe ye dayly such doe see:
But the trew fayre, that is the gentle wit
And vertuous mind, is much more praysd of me.
For all the rest, how ever fayre it be,
Shall turne to nought and loose that glorious hew:
But onely that is permanent, and free
From frayle corruption, that doth flesh ensew.
That is true beautie: that doth argue you
To be divine, and borne of heavenly seed,
Deriv'd from that fayre Spirit from whom al true
And perfect beauty did at first proceed.
He onely fayre, and what he fayre hath made;
All other fayre, lyke flowres, untymely fade.

In this sonnet the implication is clear, as in the quotations immediately preceding, that all wisdom and wit derives from the Holy Spirit, which may thus fairly be considered the Divine Wisdom or Sapience; but that the Heavenly Beauty is not one with the Holy Spirit, but derived from him. In the *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty* itself (107), the two persons are clearly distinct, though closely associated—"that immortall Beautie, there with Thee."

After all one remains then in uncertainty. If Spenser really intended to enforce the identification of Sapience with the Heavenly Beauty, for any significance it may have held, why these uncertainties and obliquities of statement? Yet he implies such identification. If Spenser really intended to enforce the identification of Sapience with the Holy Spirit, for any significance it may have held, why does he not take obvious means within his reach to enforce it? Such identification probably had occurred to him. Instead, he leaves it so obscure that it has only recently been observed. Even when observed it seems incapable of final proof, and one may well ask what significance it would give to the poem. We can only infer that he did not care. Spenser often grew indifferent to certain considerations of his art. His indifference is pretty clear in the *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, which, though it falls not behind in loftiness of thought or beauty of cadence, fails in its last third in both construction and clarity of idea, and could have said what it has to say in a space that was shorter by at least a score of lines.

Spenser, for all his use of Plato, Aristotle, and fragments of mediaeval Catholic teaching or symbolism, was neither philosopher nor theologian. It evidently stimulated his productive imagination to range among great ideas, but he ranges with no definite plan for the

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conquest and use of a system. He appropriates here and there such conception or idea, as fits exactly with his own rather intense experience and aspirations. These great fragments newly vitalized with the energy of his own spiritual life, and projected in concrete form, constitute his poetry. In some lights he is even more egoistic than Milton. It is small wonder if he does not keep his promises about Aristotle; if he gives us trouble about the squaring of plan with execution, about identifications and consistencies. Another matter preoccupies him—the uttering of his own intense feelings and convictions growing out of his own life as he lived it. Herein lie at once the defects and the glories of his art.

Princeton University.

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THE DRAMATIC ELEMENT IN *PARADISE LOST*

By James Holly Hanford

Among the literary influences which inspired and guided the genius of Milton critics have never failed to accord a large measure of importance to Elizabethan drama. His early enthusiasm for the English stage is well known. His initial imaginative kinship with Shakespeare and Fletcher and Jonson is admitted and made much of. The obvious fruit is *Comus*, wherein Milton blends a philosophical idealism and a moral seriousness which are peculiarly his own with the imaginative spirit of Elizabethan drama in its more lyric aspects. Commonly, however, the poetic inspiration of the Elizabethans is felt to be in Milton a steadily decreasing factor, giving way more and more to the domination of classical standards and to the requirements of a sterner moral and theological purpose, lingering to a measurable degree in *Paradise Lost* and imparting to it much of its poetic glory, fading into grayness in *Paradise Regained*, and suffering all but complete eclipse in *Samson Agonistes*. So in a sense it is. But a distinction which criticism has tended to neglect must here be carefully maintained. What passes out of Milton is but the more sensuous and aesthetic essence of Elizabethan poetry, the spirit of the masque and the lyric, of *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *A Midsummer-night's Dream*. Milton's sympathy with the English renaissance in its moral, philosophical, and human phases deepens with advancing years. Classicism moulds and modifies the Elizabethan influences; Puritanism makes them wear a special expression which though not new is intensified by the circumstances of the later time. But neither classicism nor Puritanism can efface them. They form the groundwork of Milton's imagination in his greatest period; and *Paradise Lost* not less but rather more than *Comus* and *L'Allegro* must be explained and interpreted in the light of Elizabethan literature. In the present article I wish to consider some effects which seem to me important of the dramatic tradition on the form and substance of Milton's epic.

I

If the consequences of Milton's dramatic heritage have never received full recognition it is because of certain facts and assumptions which have tended to draw critical attention in other directions. Chief among these are, first, his disparagement of modern drama and

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his often expressed preference for the antique; secondly, the fact that his greatest achievement is in epic, whence it is assumed that he is an "epic genius" and that whatever dramatic qualities may be observed in his work are relatively unimportant, an accidental outcome of his subject, and not the product of his more vital inspiration; finally, the notorious Miltonic self-consciousness, which has led critics to regard all his work, from *Lycidas* to *Samson*, as essentially autobiographical and non-dramatic.

But Milton's critical disapproval of modern as opposed to ancient drama is not conclusive with regard to his instinctive sympathies. That Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are "as yet unequalled of any" was the conviction of a scholar. The fact that his plans for drama show that he contemplated only tragedy on severely classical lines means simply that his classical conscience forbade him to stoop below his critical and conscious ideal. There is no evidence that Milton ever outgrew his early love of Elizabethan drama. Though the masque and comedy which had charmed his youthful fancy ceased to claim him as serious interests became more dominant, the dynamic appeal of the profounder drama of the preceding age would naturally, if he remembered it at all, become stronger in his maturer years and the deep impression of the "Delphic lines" of Shakespeare was not so easily effaced. Frequent echoes in *Paradise Lost* of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and the histories show how intimate was Milton's knowledge of these plays.[1] In *Eikonoklastes* he points out a verbal parallel between a passage in *Richard III* and a phrase in one of Charles's prayers, and he comments on the historic truth of Shakespeare's picture of Richard's hypocrisy. More important evidence of the continued relation with Elizabethan tragedy is to be found in his blank verse, which is borrowed as a medium from the English drama though justified by classical and Italian precedent as well, and which in its special Miltonic character is deeply impregnated with the influence of Marlowe.[2]

Finally Milton's very fondness for Greek tragedy above all other ancient forms may perhaps be regarded as itself an evidence of the per-

[1] Compare Verity's notes in his Cambridge edition of *Paradise Lost* to II, 662, 911, 1033; III. 1, 60, 606; V. 285; VI. 306, 586; VII. 15, XI. 496; XII. 646, etc.

[2] For specific recollections of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* see Verity on *P. L.* I. 254; IV. 20, 75; V. 671, etc. The geographical survey of the kingdoms of the east in *Paradise Regained* is suggestive of Tamburlaine's dying enumeration of his conquests. Part II, scene v. But the kinship of Milton's verse and Marlowe's does not rest on verbal parallels.

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sistence of tastes first developed under the influence of the Elizabethans. Inheriting from them the dramatic interest and habit but disapproving critically of the modern stage Milton turned to ancient drama where his natural instinct, his scholar's judgment, and his demand for a superior moral significance could find equal satisfaction. It was as natural that Milton should always have had a leaning toward drama as it was that he should have followed the classical model in his own dramatic plans. The ancient plays are too remote to give rise to an enthusiasm for drama as such, though they may mould and develop such enthusiasm when it is of native growth. The essentially Elizabethan character of Milton's dramatic inspiration is recognizable through the classical draperies of *Samson Agonistes* not less than in the more palpably romantic *Comus*.

Unguarded acceptance of the second and third of the traditional assumptions which I have mentioned above, the fallacies, namely, of the "epic genius" and of the dominance of self-portraiture, have, I believe, considerably distorted the current Miltonic criticism. To the relation of the autobiographic and the objective elements in Milton's imagination I shall return. The other issue is squarely put in Sir Walter Raleigh's *Milton*. "He is an epic, not a dramatic poet," says Raleigh; "to find him at his best we must look at those passages of unsurpassed magnificence wherein he describes some noble or striking attitude, some strong or majestic action, in its outward, physical aspect." But to claim for Milton a genuine though limited dramatic faculty is not to deny him the epic faculty as well. Why must his genius be so strictly classified? Can we, indeed, be sure of the validity of hard and fast distinctions of the sort apart from the demands of a particular theme and the limitations imposed by a traditional form? With the literary judgment which Raleigh's statement carries with it regarding the relative power and excellence of different portions of Milton's work I find myself in flat opposition. If Milton is an "epic genius" and nothing else then *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* and the lyrics are somehow a mistake; but who shall say that Milton was more within his special province in the narrative of Satan's flight through Chaos than he was in the wrathful denunciation of the clergy in *Lycidas* or in the dramatic portrayal of the inner agony of *Samson*?

II

The true battle ground of these opinions is *Paradise Lost*, for it is here that the epic and the dramatic impulses meet, as I believe

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in equal strength. And it is in their meeting that I find the explanation of much that is puzzling in the structure of the poem. Before considering the more fundamental operation of the dramatic principle in *Paradise Lost* I may point to certain outward evidences of the fact that Milton's habit of dramatic expression led him to a far-reaching modification of the epic form.

The way to the extensive use of the more typically dramatic devices was made easy by the character of the epic tradition itself, with its liberal use of dialogue and its tendency toward the visual representation of action. But Milton goes beyond all previous epics in his approximation to dramatic form. With regard to the use of dialogue the question is not primarily one of the actual number of lines in direct discourse but rather of the character of the speeches. 1. The utterances in *Paradise Lost* are, on the whole, less static than is common in earlier epics and more responsive to the situation. 2. The setting is more often brought before us, not in the narrative, but through description put into the mouths of the characters in the scene.

> With first approach of light, we must be ris'n,
> And at our pleasant labour, to reform
> Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green.
>
> and sweet the coming on
> Of grateful Eevning milde, then silent Night
> With this her solemn Bird and this fair Moon,
> And these the Gemms of Heav'n, her starrie train.
>
> But see the angry Victor hath recall'd
> His Ministers of vengeance and pursuit
> Back to the Gates of Heav'n.

There is epic precedent for this, as, for example, in the first book of the *Aeneid*, where Venus refers to a flight of eagles hitherto unmentioned; but reference to the setting is, for the most part in earlier epics, mere allusion, having little or none of the picturesque effect of the lines just quoted. Closer parallels to Milton are to be found in Elizabethan drama, in such passages, for example, as *Romeo and Juliet*, III, 1 ff.

> The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night,
> Chequ'ring the eastern clouds with streaks of light,
> And flecked darkness like a drunkard reels
> From forth day's path and Titan's fiery wheels.
> Now, ere the sun advance his burning eye,
> The day to cheer and night's dank dew to dry,

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I must fill up this osier cage of ours
With balefull weeds and precious-juiced flowers.

The extension of this device in *Paradise Lost* to the indication of the entrance of a new character may be even more definitely associated with dramatic practice. Thus Gabriel announces the coming of the angelic guard with Satan:

O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
Hasting this way, and now by glimps discerne
And with them comes a third of Regal port,
But faded splendor wan.[3]

The formula is identical with that used for entrances in *Comus*, *Arcades*, and *Samson*.

Break off, I feel the different pace
Of some chaste tread.

For I descry this way
Some other tending.

Further evidence of Milton's resort to typically dramatic method is to be found in his transformation of two traditional epic devices, the soliloquy and the relation. They are not, with him, as they are in the main with the earlier epic writers, merely a means of varying the narrative method or of giving rhetorical expression to emotion;[4] they are rather revelations of character and motive and constitute an integral element in the plot. This will be clearer upon a consideration of the dramatic purposes which they arise to serve. We may notice here, as an evidence of Milton's ever present sense of the immediate situation, the pains with which Raphael adapts his narrative to the experience of Adam. We are not allowed to forget that the story is told to him. Thus in seeking for a comparison to express the number of God's hosts he recalls to Adam's memory a scene from his own life:

as when the total kind
Of Birds in orderly array on wing

[3] Compare Adam's description of the coming of Michael, Book XI, 192 ff.

[4] Milton has one example of the typical epic soliloquy, Book VI, 113 ff. The nearest approach in ancient epic to the Miltonic character-soliloquy is in the soliloquies of Dido, *Aeneid* IV, 534 ff. and 590 ff. But, aside from the fact that the whole Dido story is episodic, one feels that these utterances are, like the Ovidian suasoria, dominantly rhetorical rather than dramatic. The soliloquies in *Paradise Lost* are, as I shall show later, strikingly analogous in purpose and effect to those in Elizabethan drama.

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> Came summond over *Eden* to receive
> Their names of thee.

There has been, as I have said, a tendency among critics to pass over the psychological and dramatic aspects of *Paradise Lost* as non-essential or to consider them even as interfering with his true and epic purpose. Thus Raleigh speaks slightingly of those who "treat the scenes he portrays as if analysis of character were his aim and truth of psychology his touchstone." But psychology and analysis are his aim in so far as the merely human aspect of the story is concerned. The earthly events in the life of Adam and Eve could not be treated with epic externality and bear comparison with the stupendous action of the revolt of Lucifer or the victory of Christ. Regarded otherwise than as a mere episode in the epic whole they must be dignified by emphasis on the psychological factors preparatory to and attendant upon the fall. Nor can it be said that the exigencies of Milton's subject forced him into an emphasis which was alien to his genius. Such a judgment finds its confutation in the consistency and inner truth with which Milton has elaborated the drama of the fall. It is not quite a fact that Adam and Eve, as Stopford Brooke remarks, "are not intended in any sense to represent men and women as we know them, worn with the wars of thought and passion." They do represent man and woman as essentially we know them with all the deeper emotions and the more universal motives of humanity; They have, moreover, a keen, if somewhat limited, experience of life, and a knowledge of many things, which coheres in their consciousness, however unnaturally imparted. The very uniqueness of their situation has bred in them a kind of special character, which, though strange, is not beyond the bounds of the intelligible in human nature. Above all they have the capacity for suffering, for a suffering the more intense because they have once been happy beyond the happiness of men since born. It is only the Satan-blinded critic who will say that their story does not claim us. Involving as it does the elements of human strength and human weakness, the machinations of the power of evil, resistance, fatal error, misery and death, it is the type of all subsequent tragic experience, and Milton has realized as fully as was possible under the limitations of the epic form its tragic value.

He marks with a distinctness unknown in epic the precise weaknesses in both Adam and Eve which lead them to destruction. Eve's

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intellectual inferiority, which seems at first to be dwelt on with gratuitous and spiteful emphasis, prepares us for the easy blinding of her eyes by the subtle tempter. It is indicated not only by reiterated warning to Adam from on high, but in more dramatic fashion by her words and acts. At the moment of her creation she mistakes the shadow for reality and all her life she is a prey to dreams. She exhibits inferior wisdom in her proposal to work for a day apart from Adam; and she is still shown to be thinking weakly, though with the mental fertility of woman and the radical boldness sometimes manifested by the sex in desperate straits, when after the fall she suggests violent measures in a vain hope to escape the inevitable doom. Curiosity and vanity, the positive defects in her nature, are no less consistently and purposefully brought out. Instinctive desire for admiration, the woman's portion, subsequently increased by Adam's adulation, is unconsciously revealed by her in the narrative of her earliest experiences. It is this which gives to her relation a strongly dramatic as well as an epic character. Thirst for a new experience prompts her to desire the fatal separation from her husband. And the workings of the two motives are subtly protrayed in soliloquy as she resolves, first to taste, and then to share the apple.

With Adam the tragic flaw is simpler but since attention focusses on him it receives proportionally larger emphasis. His superior mentality, his stronger self-control, his greater freedom from the petty human weaknesses render him inaccessible to danger through the channels by which it comes to Eve. The contrast between the two is carefully maintained throughout. Intellectual curiosity of the higher sort he has but at a word from Raphael he is able to curb it safely within bounds. A nobler and more masculine weakness yet remains in his love for Eve. Here is the one spot of vulnerability in the glorious armor otherwise so flawless. His relation of his first view of Eve has a dramatic purpose correlative to her own. It reveals the ominous and overmastering power of his passion. The angelic visitation is designed to satisfy no idle curiosity but to apprize him of the forces which are ranged against him and to warn him against allowing his passion to control his judgment. Raphael's narrative becomes, therefore, like the others, an integral portion of the dramatic plan. His sin itself is the logical outcome of the motives thus consistently elaborated in the account of his life in Eden. He falls through passion,

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not deceived
But fondly overcome with female charm.

And as his nature is nobler and more steadfast than Eve's so his fall is greater and more tragic. The "sense of tremendous waste" is here, of power and goodness brought to ruin through the seeming accident of fatal excess in what might have been a best endowment, an effect analogous to that of *Dr. Faustus* or *Macbeth.*

The portrayal of the effects of sin in Adam and Eve is not less worthy of the highest traditions of serious drama than the motivation. In Book IX, which is almost wholly dialogue, Milton all but forgets the larger movement of the poem for the time in his absorption in the human situation. Adam confronted with the terrible fact of Eve's transgression is a genuinely tragic figure. The swiftly changing moods which follow his resolve to share the fate of the beloved Eve are portrayed with the subtlety and power of the greatest of the Elizabethans. False exultation and a renewal of passion are the first results. Then comes mutual recrimination, anger, and revulsion. There is an interruption of the dramatic movement in the interests of the epic action at the beginning of Book X, but in line 720 Milton picks up the earlier scene with a renewed intensity. Adam, "in a troublous sea of passion tost," is tortured with remorseful thought. When Eve addresses him he turns upon her fiercely. Her infinitely pathetic appeal, the panic of the woman who sees the passion of her lover turned to hate, marks one of the intensest moments in the human action.

Forsake me not thus, Adam, witness Heav'n
What love sincere, and reverence in my heart
I beare to thee, and unweeting have offended,
Unhappilie deceav'd; thy suppliant
I beg, and clasp thy knees.

From this point on the two actions blend, the repentance of Adam and Eve belonging properly to the larger theme. But there is a renewal of the tragic note at the pronouncement of the decree of banishment, and again in the prophecy of Michael, when Adam beholds the consequences of his sin in his descendants. The murder of Abel, enacted before Adam's eyes, gives the true climax of the story of the fall. Adam turns in dismay to Michael for explanation of the deed which he has witnessed, and when he learns that he has at last come face to face with the mysterious and dreaded Death he starts back in tragic horror at the work of his own hands.

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> Alas, both for the deed and for the cause!
> But have I now seen Death? Is this the way
> I must return to native dust? O sight
> Of terrour, foul and ugly to behold,
> Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!

So Othello and Œdipus and Lear reach the pitch of their inward agony when the film of sin and error is removed from their vision and they behold for the first time clearly the ruin they have wrought. The actual catastrophe—be it blindness or banishment or death—is but the outward consummation of this tragic experience of the soul.

It is not my intention, in thus reading the story of the fall as tragedy, to minimize the importance of all other elements and motives. The "tragedy" is tragedy in solution. Its intensity is necessarily lessened by the requirements of the broader narrative and by the co-existence of a didactic and philosophic purpose. But it is truer to Milton's aims to see essential tragedy in *Paradise Lost* than it is to regard it as a sermon, far truer than to distort it into a kind of appendage to Miltonic biography. Determination to regard Milton's treatment of the relations of Adam and Eve as a record of personal experience, to see in Eve, particularly, "the embodiment of a doctrine," has led to a criticism which is blind to certain real artistic values in the account. It is no law of dramatic genius that it must be untouched by individual bias, must hold no creed but that of artistic sympathy with its creations. Milton found it possible to reconcile the objective necessities of his subject with the data of his own experience as many another artist has done. Personal conviction gave emphasis to, it did not determine the handling of his theme, and to insist on the personal element to the exclusion of the objective and dramatic is to do a serious injustice to his art. A fair example of the fruits of the autobiographical fallacy is Raleigh's remark that "Milton's disappointment in marriage, which had inspired the early Divorce Pamphlets, finds renewed expression in Adam's prophecy of unhappy marriages."[5] Quite aside from the doubt whether Milton's twenty-year-old memory of his first marriage was poignant enough to have inspired this passage, one protests against ignoring the dramatic justification of Adam's words. Whether Milton was disillusioned or not, Adam certainly was, and with good reason. He is like Antony bursting out in wrath at Cleopatra,[6]

[5] The passage beginning "Out of my sight, thou Serpent!" *P. L.* X, 867 ff.

[6] *Antony and Cleopatra* IV, 30 ff. "Ah, thou spell! Avaunt!"

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or, if a more exact dramatic parallel is sought, like Jason, expressing his loathing for Medea in a denunciation of all woman kind.[7] Raleigh believes that Milton "passionately resented" the susceptibility of man to the attractions of feminine beauty and grace, and that Raphael, in his remark, "Love hath his seat in reason and is judicious," "committed himself to a statement which longer experience of the world would have enabled him to correct." But surely Milton preaches no such doctrine. Adam's love is an evil not absolutely but only in its excess. Raphael speaks no less than the truth of love in its proper and ideal essence. The tirade of Adam, the angelic warnings, the insistence on the comparative inferiority of Eve constitute no fifth tractate on divorce but are, as we have seen, in entire consistency with Milton's artistic purpose.

III

That the actual literary traditions which most affected Milton in the portrayal of the inner aspects of the fall were dramatic and not epic is almost self-evident. For drama alone had hitherto dealt with the problems of human destiny in its relation to human character, powerfully and with artistic completeness. We have already observed Milton's debt to the special method of drama in his modification of epic soliloquy and dialogue. The influence of actual dramatic practice is more deeply felt in the distinctness with which he embodies in *Paradise Lost* the tragic principles of irony and ὕβρις.

There is a strong and pervasive irony in the expectation by Adam and Eve of unbounded happiness as a result of their transgression.

> but I feel
> Far otherwise th'event, not Death but Life
> Augmented, op'nd Eyes, new Hopes, new Joyes.

The touch of madness in their utterances is too clearly marked to have been unconscious. It is ὕβρις in its most essential character—the irrational exaltation which precedes the downfall, the blindness, which drives its victims headlong to destruction, the belief, in short, that they have become as gods. It becomes profoundly ironical when we know the inevitable outcome.

> On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
> And fear of Death deliver to the Windes . . . .

[7] Euripides, *Medea*, 573 ff. The language is definitely echoed in Adam's speech. Cf. also *Hippolytus*, 616 ff.

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> As with new Wine intoxicated both
> They swim in mirth, and fansie that they feel
> Divinitie within them breeding wings
> Wherewith to scorn the Earth.

A similar ironical emphasis marks the exultant return of Satan to Hell, in a false triumph soon to be dashed by his transformation to a serpent. The ὕβρις motive is present in the portrayal of Satan from the first, coloring perceptibly the purely theological conception of his sinful pride. His defiant spirit, as Verity remarks, recalls Prometheus. He exemplifies the truth of Enobarbus's words concerning Antony:

> I see men's judgments are
> A parcel of their fortunes, and things outward
> Do draw the inward quality after them.

For his logic, even with himself, is sophistry. He falls, like many of Ate's victims,[8] into the error of fatalism and becomes a sceptic of God's power.

> To mee shall be the glorie sole among
> The infernal Powers, in one day to have marr'd
> What he Almightie styl'd, six Nights and Days
> Continu'd making.[9]

Both Adam and in a higher degree Eve are touched in their sin with the same philosophy:

> The Gods are first, and that advantage use
> On our belief, that all from them proceeds;
> I question it, for this fair Earth I see,
> Warmed by the Sun, producing every kind,
> Them nothing.[10]

In his conscious employment of the ὕβρις motive in *Paradise Lost*, as later in *Samson Agonistes*, Milton was undoubtedly strengthened by its prominence in ancient drama; but on the whole his conception and conduct of the story of the fall are more Shakespearean than Greek. The adoption of the epic plan gave scope for a more complete and essential human drama than was possible under the original dramatic plan. The classical bias of the early drafts, with

[8] E.g. Julius Caesar, Macbeth, and Jonson's Sejanus, to name only three Elizabethan instances.

[9] Cf. I. 116: "Since by Fate the strength of Gods And this Empyreal substance cannot fail." Also Belial's doubt whether God can give annihilation if he will, etc., etc.

[10] Cf. also IX, 806, 928 ff., and X, 799 ff.

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their elaborate allegory, their emphasis on choric utterance, and their restricted action made necessary by the preservation of the unities, precluded the possibility of any such psychological evolution as we have found in *Paradise Lost*. The adoption of the epic plan brought the poem infinitely nearer to *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. Thus the actual temptation and fall, which in the drama were to have been narrated, could in the epic be represented, with adequate emphasis on motive and with full dramatic effect as in Elizabethan tragedy.

A host of analogies might be pointed out between the more dramatic parts of *Paradise Lost* and the scenes and situations of Elizabethan drama. Professor Hales has described with convincing distinctness the kinship in theme and purpose of *Paradise Lost* and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.[11] He forgets, however, to indicate the parallel between the relations of Adam and Eve and those of Macbeth and his lady. Milton's adoption of romantic love as an essential motive in his story is in itself sufficient to mark his nearness to the Elizabethans.

And it is not only to *Macbeth* that *Paradise Lost* is closely akin. The situation of Adam and Eve in relation to Satan is an essential repetition of that of Othello, Desdemona and Iago,—innocence and love assailed and broken by a villain utterly evil and of superhuman ingenuity. Adam's last parting with Eve in innocence recalls, in its tender pity and poignant irony, Othello's farewell to Desdemona in Act III, scene ii:

> Perdition catch my soul
> But I do love thee! and when I love thee not,
> Chaos is come again.

There is much in Satan to suggest Iago. The jealousy, the malignity, the "motive-hunting," the ironical half-pity, the machination, of Satan's great soliloquy as he first contemplates the hapless human pair amid their bliss make him seem like a reincarnation of the cloven-hoofed adversary of *Othello*.

He is of the lineage, too, of other Elizabethan villains. The explicit avowal of an evil intent—"Evil, be thou my good"—made keener by his inability to partake of the delights which he sees around him, ally him closely with Richard III.

> the more I see
> Pleasures around me, so much the more I feel
> Torment within me, as from the hateful siege

[11] "Milton's 'Macbeth.'" *Folia Litteraria*, 198 ff.

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> Of contrarieties; all good to me becomes
> Bane.

So Richard:

> And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover
> To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
> I am determined to prove a villain
> And hate the idle pleasures of these days.

Compare also the ironical

> League with you I seek,
> And mutual amity so streight, so close,
> That I with you must dwell, or you with me
> Henceforth.

with Richard's grimmer but less tragic words of Clarence:

> Simple, plain Clarence! I do love thee so,
> That I will shortly send thy soul to Heaven.

The self-torturing remorse of Satan is foreign to both Richard and Iago. It is, on the other hand, the one characteristic which he has in common with the Mephistophilis of Marlowe, and there can be little doubt that Milton received the first suggestion for his conception of Satan in this aspect from his Elizabethan predecessor. The parallel between the two passages in *Dr. Faustus*[12] in which Mephistophilis reveals the hell within and Satan's "Which way I flie is Hell; myself am Hell" is well-known. An almost equally striking likeness between the soliloquy in which this line occurs and the fruitless prayer of Claudius in *Hamlet* has not, I think, been pointed out. Satan's speech itself is, amazingly enough, a kind of frustrated prayer, addressed not directly to the deity, but to the Sun, "that with surpassing glory crownd, Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God Of this new world." He almost longs, like Claudius, for a reconciliation which is made impossible by the persistence of the sin itself.

> O then at last relent; is there no place
> Left for Repentence, none for Pardon left?
> None left but by submission; and that word
> *Disdain* forbids me.

[12] Scenes iii and v.

> "For where we are is hell,
> And where hell is there must we ever be."

Compare also the earlier words of Faustus:

> "Whither should I fly?
> If unto God, he'll throw me down to hell."

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So in *Hamlet*

> What then? what rests?
> Try what repentance can; what can it not?
> Yet what can it when one cannot repent?

Phillips, in his Life of Milton, says that the opening lines of Satan's address were originally composed as the exordium of the drama which Milton had at first designed. If so, it may well be that the tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been written much more directly under Elizabethan influences than the dramatic drafts would indicate.

A final instance of the reproduction in *Paradise Lost* of the profounder moods of Elizabethan tragedy is to be found in Adam's self-communion after the fall.

> how gladly would I meet
> Mortalitie my sentence, and be Earth
> Insensible, how glad would lay me down
> As in my Mothers lap? there I should rest
> And sleep secure . . .
> Yet one doubt
> Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die,
> Least that pure breath of Life, the Spirit of Man
> Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish
> With this corporeal Clod; then in the Grave,
> Or in some other dismal place, who knows
> But I shall die a living Death? O thought
> Horrid, if true!

The yearning for death is expressed in language obviously inspired by the Book of Job; but the weighing of the problem, the shrinking on the brink of the unknown, the sense of a mystery which "puzzles the will"—"to die, to sleep! To sleep! perchance to dream!"—all this is *Hamlet*.

But matters of specific and conscious debt to Shakespeare or Marlowe are not here primarily in question. The parallels given above are significant only as evidences of the great impulse of the spirit which passed from the dramatists to Milton and led him to conceive his theme in the light of their creations. If the tragic ideal which he was consciously or unconsciously endeavoring to realize had been attained more artistically and distinctly by the Greeks, it had been attained more powerfully and with an underlying philosophy more in accord with Milton's own by the Elizabethans. It was to them, therefore, that Milton inevitably turned for guidance in the fulfillment of a kindred inspiration.

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IV

The exact position of the tragic element in the economy of *Paradise Lost* and its relation to the other motives in the poem may best be made clear by a consideration of the known facts regarding the growth of Milton's literary plans. His earliest intention was to write an epic, as Spenser had done before him, with King Arthur as the hero. The story, which was as we may infer from *Mansus* and the *Epitaphium Damonis* to have moved toward the defeat of the Saxons as its climax, fell easily and naturally within the traditional epic scope. It could have been plotted on lines exactly parallel to the *Aeneid* or the *Jerusalem Delivered*. Alfred's victory over the Danes at Edlingsby, the only subject set down as heroical in the list drawn up by Milton about the year 1641, is specifically indicated to be like the actions of Odysseus. By this time, however, Milton shows a decided preference for dramatic themes. Of these some thirty are British, and the subjects—murders and the like—are such as would have led Milton to the composition of pure tragedy, presumably on the model of the Greek though doubtless with an underlying Elizabethan content. The remaining sixty odd are scriptural. They are not, like the British themes, specifically designated as tragedies, and some, for example "Samaria liberata," suggest the epic form. Others were clearly intended to be dramatic, but their treatment would obviously have differed from that of the "British tragedies," for the human catastrophe, as in *Christus Patiens* or *Sodom*, would have been enveloped in a wider religious theme. Milton's increasing preference for such material is the inevitable outcome of the religious bias which compelled him to see in all human events the hand of providence, punishing the wicked and shaping through evil itself the ultimate triumph of its purposes. Yet the human and dramatic aspects of these themes would have remained a vital and original element in their appeal. It was too late in the day for a great poet to revive the religious mystery pure and simple and Milton could not have wished or planned to do so. In the four successive dramatic drafts of *Paradise Lost* the human possibilities of the theme are not lost sight of. They are, however, sorely straightened by the machinery of angels and allegorical figures. Adam and Eve do not appear on the scene until after their fall, the representation of their love and marriage being entrusted to the chorus. On the other hand the wider sweep of the divine action would have been even more

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imperfectly represented. Milton's ultimate decision to adopt the epic form must have resulted from a perception that neither the one element nor the other could receive its full development within the contracted limits of tragedy. In epic there was ample scope for all. But the epic which should include them would differ radically from any that Milton had previously contemplated on typically heroic themes. For it would retain a core of drama inherited from the original conception and would be subject to the influence of the dramatic quite as much as of the epic tradition.

That Milton was ready enough to accept the transformation of the epic type in which his materials were to involve him is indicated by a passage in the *Reason of Church Government* (1641), where, speaking of his literary plans, he questions whether in epic "the rules of Aristotle are to be strictly kept or nature to be followed, which in those that know art and use judgment is no transgression but an enrichment of art." Consciousness of a radical difference between his epic and others is shown in the invocation at the beginning of Book IX:

> I now must change
> Those notes to tragic . . . . .
> Not sedulous by nature to indite
> Wars, hitherto the only argument
> Heroic deemed.

His own theory of the respective provinces of epic and drama was extremely liberal, the distinction existing in his mind being a merely formal one. Thus he speaks of the Book of Job as a brief epic and of the Apocalypse and the Song of Solomon as drama. In his later work the encroachment of drama on epic is apparent in *Paradise Regained*, which is a series of scenes in dialogue, with a narrative framework almost as slight as that of Job, while *Samson Agonistes*, as Moody remarks, "holds in solution a large amount of narrative" and is, indeed, a "kind of epic drama."

Availing himself of the epic form thus loosely conceived Milton poured into it the materials which so obviously transcended his dramatic plan. He preserved the story of the fall, with much fuller elaboration of its inner and human meaning. He developed also the wider theme, of the general problem of evil and of God's plan for the redemption. The blending of the two elements is accomplished with the highest skill. From man's first disobedience as a center we pass back to the origin of that event in the revolt of Satan and

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forward to its nullification in the atonement. The poem has a unity of design more apparent than the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid* since the action is less episodic. But within the unity there exists a fundamental duality of motive. The fall of man refuses to be treated as an incident or as a mere exemplum; its tragedy will not be obliterated and lost in a theological triumph of the good. Milton's sense of it, made keen by the experience of life and definite by his inheritance of classic and Elizabethan tragedy, remains to plague us with its poignancy, and he was too great an artist to wish it away. The tragic, therefore, claims its place in the interpretation of the poem. It is deeply inwrought in Milton's fundamental conception and constitutes as essential an element therein as does the noble philosophical ideal of Professor Greenlaw's exposition or the theological doctrine which is the more ostensible goal of Milton's thought.

It is only by recognizing and giving due weight to all the elements which are held in balance in *Paradise Lost* that we can do full justice to Milton's greatness. The criticism which makes him a mere poetic voice, speaking gloriously of irrational or petty things, is as outworn as the Calvinistic system by which his outlook is supposed to have been so strictly bound. The view of life in *Paradise Lost* is one which far transcends the limits of the Puritan theology while it includes its ideal faith. Maintaining a firm hold on spiritual reality and finding in Christianity philosophically considered the guide and hope of man, Milton yet retains a consciousness of the inexplicable mystery of human life. Out of the puzzle of character and destiny springs a sympathy for struggling, taxed humanity which no mere theologian can have. Milton cannot be simply angry with Adam in spite of the enormity of his offense. Nor can he merely rejoice in his repentance and salvation. There remains in his story a residuum of tragedy which outlives the promise of eternal bliss. Death, to the eye of faith, is swallowed up in victory,

> Yet tears to human suffering are due,
> And mortal hopes defeated and o'erthrown
> Are mourned by man.

If Milton thus conceived his theme in a manner more lastingly true to our human experience than is the Calvinistic theology in its rigid and uncompromising clearness, it is because he had drunk deep at the fountains of the renaissance. The very duality of Milton's epic is an evidence of the high lineage of which he comes. Such

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complexity of consciousness is as deeply characteristic of *King Lear*[13] as it is of *Paradise Lost*, and it survives the strong assaults of Puritanism and classicism alike in *Samson Agonistes*.

The University of North Carolina.

[13] The spiritual victory of Lear finds its counterpart in the repentance, the strengthening, and the salvation of Adam. But in *King Lear* as in *Paradise Lost* the triumph of the good does not wipe out the tragic impression or resolve the mystery of evil. For evil is in a sense triumphant too. As Goneril and Regan and Edmund have their partial victory in the wrecking of the earthly happiness of Lear and Cordelia, so Satan has his partial victory in "the fruit whose mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe." The sudden plunge into tragedy in the fifth act, following the happy consummation toward which the play has moved, is exactly analogous to the stern exile of Adam and Eve, which brings us back to sorrow after the angelic prophecy. The tranquil but saddened closing lines of *Paradise Lost* and *Lear* represent a similar blending into harmony of the opposing principles.

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"A BETTER TEACHER THAN AQUINAS"

By Edwin Greenlaw

As a means for correcting and checking the results gained through the study of Milton's sources in general and of his borrowings from other poets, an examination of the influence of Spenser upon *Paradise Lost* presents a unique opportunity. For the testimony about this influence is of unquestioned authority. Dryden says that Milton acknowledged that Spenser was his original, and Milton himself called Spenser a better teacher than Aquinas. Yet at first sight no two poems have less in common than the *Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*. In plot, in structure, in incident, in style, and apparently in temper, they seem utterly unlike. Because of these facts, Professor Raleigh remarks that Dryden's statement is "incredible . . . unless we understand 'original' in the sense of his earliest admiration, his poetic godfather who first won him to poetry." Of Milton's own testimony, Professor Raleigh merely remarks that he must have been conscious "that he was maintaining a bold paradox in an age when scholasticism still controlled education." As to Spenser's influence on *Paradise Lost*, we read that in the poem there are "hints unconsciously taken and touches added, perhaps, from his reading of other poets—of Caedmon, Andreini, and Vondel, of Spenser, Sylvester, Crashaw, and the Fletchers."[1]

Professor Raleigh may, therefore, be taken to represent that large company of critics who, perhaps fortunately, do not recognize Spenser as a "source." Most other critics who touch on the subject at all may be represented by Professor Cory, who protests, I think rightly, against prevailing tendencies to stress continental influences on Milton to the exclusion of English influence, but who despite his distaste for the "loads of learned lumber" about parallel passages does not get away from the methods he deprecates. He insists, through repetition rather than through proof, that in *Paradise Lost* "the sterner side of Spenser illumined Milton's gloomy sublimity at times when he dwelt upon the tragic contest of passions and forces good and evil." Eden is described with Spenserian ardor, and "though Milton was sternly renouncing these fancies he was renouncing them with an audible sigh."[2]

[1] These three statements are found in Raleigh's *Milton*, pp. 7, 8, 105.

[2] *Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, II. 368-369.

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A further review of the treatment of this subject by writers upon Milton is unnecessary, for it would merely confirm what is here pointed out, that the very clear and direct statements by Dryden and by Milton himself are ignored, are interpreted vaguely, or are illustrated merely by citation of parallel passages drawn, in the main, from the minor poems.[3] Nevertheless, I believe that we have here a problem that is of no little importance. An attempt to solve it may yield results that are interesting in themselves; it ought also to be of value from the standpoint of method. Source study in the usual sense is not involved,—it is this misconception of the problem that has so long led us astray, but the solution that I shall propose will have at least the virtue of definiteness, and if it should be accepted will lead to a much sounder and clearer conception of the real meaning of *Paradise Lost* than can be gained in any other way.

I

In the Preface to his *Fables*, Dryden remarks:

> Milton was the poetical son of Spenser . . . for we have our lineal descents and clans as well as other families. Spenser more than once insinuates that the soul of Chaucer was transfus'd into his body, and that he was begotten by him two hundred years after his decease. Milton has acknowledg'd to me that Spenser was his original.

This passage is significant because it phrases a conception of literary relationship very often overlooked. Professor Raleigh's explanation that Dryden probably meant that Spenser was Milton's literary godfather will not do, for Dryden's words, if they mean anything at all, not only imply heredity analogous to blood relationship as of father to son but also include a sort of spiritual transmigration. Moreover, the relationship between Chaucer and Spenser is curiously analogous to that between Spenser and Milton in that it is not a relationship manifested in repetition of plot and incident, not even in style and general conception or structure, but a far deeper and more intimate relationship of the spirit. That this relationship of the spirit

[3] Professor Thompson quotes Dryden's remark and explains it by the stimulus given by Spenser to Milton's poetic life, particularly as humanist and as Puritan. But Dr. Thompson, like his predecessors, finds this influence only in the early poems: "Neither Milton's epics nor *Samson Agonistes* could be so directly influenced by Spenser. In selecting the theme of *Paradise Lost* Milton purposely turned away from the romantic world of the *Faerie Queene* . . . the Minor Poems are the most unmistakably Spenserian and in *Paradise Lost* other influences predominate." *Essays on Milton*, 166-170.

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is no vague thing, I have sought to show in another place.[4] But it was an influence operative chiefly in Spenser's early period; Spenser's influence on Milton, on the other hand, while constant and pervasive, finds its most important illustrations in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. While we have no full account of the conversation between Dryden and Milton in which Milton acknowledged that Spenser was his 'original' we know that such a meeting or meetings took place, that Dryden sought Milton's permission to use the great epic as the foundation for his *State of Innocence*, and that Milton gave him permission to "tag" his verses.[5] There is good reason to suppose, therefore, that Milton made this statement about his indebtedness to Spenser in connection with a discussion of *Paradise Lost*, and that the word 'original' is no mere term of vague compliment but has a definite meaning. What this meaning is I think it possible to ascertain.

Certain fundamental parallels between Milton and Spenser should be kept in mind throughout the discussion which follows. In the first place, both men held similar views about poetry and education. To both, the poet is a teacher. In the tract on Education, Milton dwells on the high function of poetry: "I mean not here the prosody of a verse . . . but that sublime art [which shows] what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things." In the same essay he defines the end of learning as "possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection," and he returns to the general idea in the famous definition, "I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."[6] With these passages compare Spenser's statement, in his letter to Raleigh, of the educational aims of his

[4] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVI. 419 ff., but see especially pp. 438-444.

[5] Aubrey *seems* to include Dryden among Milton's "familiar learned acquaintance," since the reference comes in connection with such a list. The part of it referring to the visit reads: "Jo. Dryden, Esq., Poet Laureate, who very much admired him, and went to him to have leave to put his *Paradise Lost* into a drama in rhyme. Mr. Milton received him civilly, and told him he would give him leave to tag his verses." I quote from Professor Lockwood's edition of "Education, Areopagitica" etc., pp. xxxix-xl, in which she reprints Aubrey's *Life*.

[6] There is a long passage at the beginning of the second book of *The Reason of Church Government* that further amplifies this conception of the educational function of poetry.

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poem: "The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline." Again, after stating that he was following the examples of Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso in representing the virtues of the private man and the valiant governor, he remarks on the superiority of poetry to philosophy in these words, "So much more profitable and gratious is doctrine by ensample than by rule." There are other passages which show that the two men looked upon poetry as a sort of philosophy teaching by example. To this point should be added the fact, which needs no special illustration, that Milton resembled Spenser in his conception of the relation of the poet to the state; in a sense, Milton was a courtier as understood by Castiglione, Sidney, and Spenser. Finally, there is a fundamental parallelism in thought, as, for example, in the idea common to the two men that virtue is active not passive, in the strong sense of symbol behind the fact, and, as will be pointed out below, in the fact that *Paradise Lost* not less than the *Faerie Queene* is a moral allegory, not merely poetical theology.

With this preparation we are ready to examine Milton's statement that he regarded Spenser as a better teacher than Aquinas. The reference comes in a passage of some length that expresses the very heart of the argument in the *Areopagitica*:

> As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdome can there be to choose, what continence to forbeare without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary. That vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank vertue, not a pure; her whitenesse is but an excrementall whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet Spencer, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the bowr of earthly blisse, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.

How completely the significance of this passage has been overlooked is indicated by the way in which it has been annotated. For example, Professor Hales speaks of the influence of Spenser, manifested through allusions and parallel passages, on Milton's earlier poems; he cites several examples of this, and refers to one, out of several

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that he might have named, of Milton's other references to Spenser in his prose. His note on Aquinas misses the special point of Milton's reference. It will also be observed that Milton conceives of virtue as active, not passive; it is characteristic of a human, struggling personality, not an abstraction. Again, such a man is here conceived as a "warfaring Christian"; he purges his nature of impurity through trial.[7] And in Spenser's Guyon, Milton finds concrete illustration of this doctrine. The importance of both doctrine and illustration is indicated by Milton's remarks, a moment later, on his conception of the sin of Adam:

> Many there be that complain of divin Providence for suffering Adam to transgresse. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had bin else a meere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We our selves esteem not of that obedience or love or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu? They are not skilfull considerers of human things, who imagin to remove sin by removing the matter of sin . . . Suppose we could expell sin by this means; look how much we thus expell of sin, so much we expell of vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who though he command us temperance, justice, continence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profuseness all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. (*Areopagitica* ed. Hales, pp. 25-26).

Adam, like Guyon, was free to choose; his virtue was tested, as Guyon's was tested, by being brought face to face with a "provoking object." The full significance of this "provoking object" will appear later in the discussion; in the meantime it is associated with the "passions" and "pleasures" which when "rightly temper'd" or dealt with by a man possessing this ideal of temperance, become the very ingredients of virtue. What justifies God's dealings with men, Milton's theme in *Paradise Lost*, is that God tests through trial the virtues of temperance, justice, continence. This trial must be met by a virtue that though confronted by the beauty and the pleasures of a world of sense and having the power to wander beyond all limit and satiety, yet chooses good and not evil. Obedience then is not blind but a matter of choice. The philosophy is from Greece, not from Genesis, for this choice involves abstaining through temperance, the rational

[7] This word is usually printed *wayfaring*; but Professor Hales's reasons for preferring *warfaring* appear to me conclusive. (*Areopagitica*, ed. Hales, pp. 95-96).

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principle of the soul, or yielding through excess, the irrational principle. Adam fell because the irrational principle in his soul, inflamed by a provoking object, triumphed over temperance, not because he disobeyed "a whimsical Tyrant, all of whose laws are arbitrary and occasional, and who exacts from his creatures an obedience that differs from brute submission in one point only, that by the gift of free-will it is put within their power to disobey."[8]

This last sentence fairly represents the issue between the usual critical position with regard to *Paradise Lost* and what I believe to have been Milton's true intention. Modern criticism of the poem has been too much influenced by Voltaire and Landor. Critics are blinded by the splendor of Milton's Satan, who has drawn many to his camp in a sense not theological. As a result the temptation and fall of Adam, instead of being the climax, seems puerile and unconvincing. As Mr. Moody expresses it, Milton's "solemnly avowed intention to 'justify the ways of God to men' was in the end a serious drag upon him"; the theology and politics of the poem are at variance, involving an "unconscious insincerity."[9] Milton's fate in the history of criticism has by a strange irony paralleled that of his master Spenser. Both great poems have been patronized for their insufficiency of thought; Spenser's poem has been criticized for vagueness, lack of structure, tedious length, and because it is an "allegory"; Milton's for inconsistency, for representing an outworn theology, and for triviality. Both poets have been praised chiefly for certain "poetic" qualities at the expense of intellectual power, a judgment which they would have resented. Spenser's epic has no grip on reality or on thought; Milton's is a gigantic bathos, moving from a cosmic stage filled with titanic figures down to an insignificant spot on earth, where two "harmless tame creatures" (Professor Raleigh's phrase) are damned for eating an apple. Such criticism as applied to Milton, one gets a certain satisfaction in reflecting, is of Satanic origin (see *Paradise Lost*, X. 485 ff.) and was first given earthly currency, appropriately enough, by Voltaire. A fair examination of the two passages from the *Areopagitica* cited above, involving, as it must involve, consideration of the effect of Spenser's Legend of Guyon on Milton's thought and applying the results of such study to a consideration of the theme and structure of *Paradise Lost*, will supply the needed correction.

[8] Raleigh, *Milton*, p. 130.

[9] Cambridge edition of Milton, p. 99.

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Like Milton, Spenser regards virtue as not passive, static, absolute, but active and capable of growth through use. Throughout the *Faerie Queene* are illustrations of Milton's view that the passions within the soul of man and the pleasures round about us are "the very ingredients of virtue"; that the virtues of temperance (*Faerie Queene*, book II), justice (book V), and continence (books III and IV), specially named by Milton, are confronted with a profuseness of all desirable things and that the mind of man "can wander beyond all limit and satiety" unless controlled. Such a philosophy differs widely from medieval theology, which Milton is popularly supposed to have petrified in his poem, in the sense that St. Simeon Stylites or Richard Rolle, withdrawing from the world to escape contamination, supply no ideals for either Spenser or Milton. Spenser's method combines certain medieval elements with much of Aristotle and Plato, and is further modified by his conception of the knight who is a true "warfaring Christian."

Classical elements in Spenser's exposition of the virtue of Temperance are as follows: Plato divides the soul into three principles, one rational, and two irrational. The irrational principles are anger or spirit (*θυμός*), and sensuality. Temperance, represented by Guyon, is the harmony resulting when the rational spirit rules. Fundamentally, Guyon's story is an exposition of the Platonic ideal, but certain Aristotelian elements are present, manifested in part through the systematic way in which the whole content is presented; in part through specific incidents, such as the story of Perissa, Medina, and Elissa (the golden mean), and in part through the use of figures and incidents representing "excess," such as Philotime (*φιλοτιμία*) or Ambition in the unfavorable sense, and Acrasia (*ἀκρασία*) or Incontinence.[10] But this material is presented in a way highly original with Spenser, not merely because the Legend of Guyon is an admirable example of philosophy made concrete through story, which as we have seen expresses Spenser's and Milton's fundamental conception of the province of poetry, but also because the method of Spenser's allegory is unique in a sense better understood by Milton than by some of Spenser's modern interpreters.

[10] See, for further exposition and illustration of Platonic and Aristotelian elements in Spenser, the valuable introductions to Miss Winstanley's editions of the *Fowre Hymnes* and *Faerie Queene*, Book II.

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In the first place, the apparently episodic structure of one of the books of the *Faerie Queene* is organic, not a matter of chance.[11] The seemingly unrelated episodes in the first six cantos of Book II are *exempla* illustrating the evil effects of anger, or spirit in the unfavorable sense. Amavia, Pyrocles and Cymocles, Furor, etc., illustrate this method admirably. Besides this *exemplum* method we have, in this part of the book, the formal Aristotelian allegory of Perissa, Medina, and Elissa. In the last six cantos the stories of Maleger, Acrasia, etc., illustrate the evils of sensuality, while the story of Alma, once more scholastic allegory, presents the philosophic content in somewhat different form: Alma represents the soul in perfect command of the body. This symmetry of structure is further marked by the fact that the two great "adventures" in this book as well as in book I represent climaxes in the development of the hero, who is not an abstraction, but a man pre-eminent for the virtue which is being expounded. Spenser here combines, in each of his great heroes, the method of characterization found in the medieval romances with his formal allegory. Just as Gawain is the type of courtesy in innumerable romances of the Arthurian cycle, so Redcrosse is a man *striving* for Holiness or pre-eminent for Holiness, Guyon for Temperance, Artegall for Justice, etc. What is even more interesting is the function of the companions of these heroes. The conventional interpretation of the relation of Una, the Palmer, and Talus to the knights whom they accompany is, I believe, incorrect. These attendants are the *abstractions*: Una is Holiness, the Palmer is Temperance, Talus is Justice, in the abstract, never tempted, never at fault, always true to type. But Redcrosse, Guyon, and Artegall, while distinguished for the virtues which they represent, are human in the sense of imperfection, or to put it more accurately, they are men who strive toward perfection in that virtue. The great importance of this observation will be at once apparent. Spenser's genius is nowhere more evident than in the way in which he transforms a well-known device in characterization found in medieval romance into a means of making allegory more vivid and human than would have been possible had he used the scholastic formalism exclusively. He combines the two, as in Guyon compared with Alma. He gains a double exposition by the device, also taken from the romances, of the attendant, who is here, however, made an abstraction. Most of all, he is able to represent, especially

[11] I have illustrated this point in relation to the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene* in an article on "Spenser and British Imperialism," in *Modern Philology*, IX. 347 ff.

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in Redcrosse and Guyon, the growth of the soul toward perfection.[12] Thus even those phases of Spenser's work which are apparently closest to scholastic method are incomparably richer than anything found in that form of allegory for which he is supposed to stand.

I now give an abstract of the principal contents of the second book with special reference to analogous situations in *Paradise Lost*. What has just been said about Spenser's adaptation of the aims and methods of scholastic allegory will assist in showing how, in both form and content on the one hand and philosophic conception of the relations between virtue and sin on the other, Spenser seemed to Milton a better teacher than Aquinas.[13]

In the main, the Legend of Guyon, like *Paradise Lost*, is concerned with two great themes: the machinations of Satan, and the Bower of Bliss. Archimago in this book is not primarily representative of the Jesuits, or even of Hypocrisy, as is often said: he stands for Satan. The source, I believe, is Tasso, particularly in the attempts made by him to create enmity between Arthur and Guyon, who here correspond to Godfrey and Rinaldo, and in his employment of a beautiful witch, Duessa, as Tasso's Satan employs Armida. That Spenser has a Satan much like Milton's in mind is indicated by the statement, "For to all good he enimy was still"; and by the fact that he has escaped from confinement and fares forth to work mischief.[14] His method is to work "by forged treason or by open fight," knowing his credit to be in doubtful balance. He uses Duessa, a witch representing beauty in distress, to mislead Guyon, but this bears no relation, except of suggestion, to Milton. He appears as an old man in many of the incidents, and he disappears, being supernatural, when foiled.[15] In canto vii Mammon takes the place of Archimago, representing Satan in another form. This temptation, the first great crisis in Guyon's

[12] The explanation of Spenser's method given in this paragraph is new, I believe. Miss Winstanley is so occupied with tracing the debt of Spenser to Plato and Aristotle that she quite overlooks both medieval formal allegory and the influence of the romances on the poem.

[13] I do not for a moment wish to be interpreted as holding that this second book of Spenser's poem is a source in the sense usually understood; I am trying to show the extraordinary similarity in method and philosophy, a far more important matter. But this similarity in conception yields some surprising parallels in incident, as will be shown.

[14] II. i. 5. Redcrosse had imprisoned him, I. xii.

[15] II. iii. 11 ff.; vi. 47, etc. Compare the appearance as an old man with Milton's similar disguise for Satan in *Paradise Regained*.

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development, is of extraordinary interest. It takes three forms, lasting three days. On the first day Guyon is tempted by wealth and power; on the second day by ambition (Philotime); on the third the climax is presented in the mysterious temptation of the tree laden with golden apples. Spenser gives many classical references in order to show the beauty of this fruit; he does not mention Eden; he does not even make clear why the apples should be a severer test of Guyon's temperance than Mammon's chests of gold and promise of power or Philotime's promise of worldly fame. That it is so regarded by Spenser is clear from the fact that Mammon's aim was

> To do him deadly fall
> In frayle intemperaunce through sinfull bayt,

and that Guyon, half fainting from exhaustion (an exhaustion due to lack of food and sleep as well as to the severity of the temptation) stumbles from the place. As soon as he reaches upper air

> The life did flit away out of her nest
> And all his senses were with deadly fit opprest.

In all this trial Guyon has not been warned that he must not succumb to the temptations of Mammon; it is his own clear spirit that is his guide. But throughout the three days he is followed by a fiend who is ready, if he yields, to pounce on him and tear him to pieces.[16]

The relation of this incident to our present inquiry is two-fold. In the first place, the three days temptation of Guyon concludes a series of incidents that pretty certainly influenced *Paradise Regained*, in which Christ proved his temperance in the sense understood by Spenser and Milton. Archimago representing Satan in the disguise of an old man; Mammon's proffer of riches, worldly power, fame; the three days without sleep or food, followed by exhaustion; the angel sent to care for Guyon after the trial is over; even the debates between Mammon and Guyon, which parallel Christ's rebukes of Satan, all illustrate this point. The fairy storm in *Paradise Regained* is an imitation of one in another part of Spenser's poem (III, xii, 2-3); the feast is described in Spenserian fashion, and, in general, Milton follows Spenser in representing objectively and sensuously spiritual states.[17]

[16] vii. 26, 27, 64. The apple is explained by Warton as derived from Ovid, who says that Proserpine would have been restored to Ceres had she not plucked an apple from a tree in her garden. (*Spenser*, ed. Todd, IV, 459).

[17] No part of the *Faerie Queene* was read more attentively by Milton than the second book. Belphoebe's rebuke to Braggadocchio in canto iii is closely parallel to the rebuke of Comus by the Lady, and the use of the apple as symbol of the most

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In the second place, one type of intemperance, the subject of the first great crisis in Guyon's development, is unworthy ambition and lust for power; the corresponding theme in *Paradise Lost* is the fall of Satan, the first great "adventure" in Milton's epic, through yielding to the same form of intemperance.

Guyon's final "adventure," the overthrow of the Bower of Bliss, unquestionably influenced Milton's story of Adam's temptation and fall, not of course as the source of the story, but in a way fully as significant. Raphael corresponds to the Palmer, and warns Adam that reason (temperance) must control him just as the Palmer instructs Guyon. The climax of Raphael's instruction (VIII. 521-643) deals with the difference between heavenly and earthly love and beauty. The entire passage is a combination of Renaissance Platonism as illustrated in Bembo's speech in the fourth book of *Il Cortegiano* and Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes* with the warning against earthly love given to Guyon by the Palmer and illustrated by the episode of the Bower of Bliss. Adam speaks first of the surpassing power of Eve's beauty. His delight is sensual, he is weak against the power of her beauty; her loveliness is absolute and complete in itself, so that all higher knowledge in her presence falls degraded and by her beauty is created an awe that guards her like an angel. The germ of this conception of love is in the *Phaedrus*, in which we are told of the power of beauty to transport the man who beholds it.[18] Even Adam's distinction between the ordinary delights of the senses and the "transported touch" which so powerfully moves him in the presence of Eve is implicit in Plato. But in Bembo's speech and in the *Hymnes* we have the true sources of Milton's thought. To Adam's rhapsody on Eve's beauty Raphael responds that this beauty, while real and worthy, is but an "outside"; that the passion which so transports him is but "touch" and is possessed by beasts. On this compare Bembo's similar rebuke of love based on instincts possessed by beasts as well as men, which cannot long satisfy the lover; Spenser, in the first *Hymne*, has precisely the same thought.[19] Finally, Raphael makes

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severe of Mammon's temptations seems to have suggested Milton's use of this particular fruit. Finally, the description of Mammon's cave is beyond question a source of Milton's description of Hell in the first and second books of *Paradise Lost*.

[18] *Phaedrus*, 239, 250. 251; see also *Symposium*, 211, 212, in which is the idea of a beauty that is complete and absolute.

[19] *Il Cortegiano*, IV. 61-62; *Hymne in Honour of Love*, 99 ff. and 169 ff.

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clear distinction between reason (temperance) and passion, and points out how love rightly conceived leads man, by successive steps, to the perception of the Heavenly Love:

> In loving thou dost well; in passion not,
> Wherein true Love consists not. Love refines
> The thoughts, and heart enlarges—hath his seat
> In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale
> By which to Heavenly Love thou may'st ascend.

This idea is familiar in Renaissance Platonism and derives ultimately from the *Symposium*. Bembo says that the soul, freed from vice and purged by true philosophy, may open those eyes which all possess but few use, and attain to the sight of Heavenly Love and Beauty. It is also the fundamental theme of the *Fowre Hymnes*.[20]

Thus, Milton follows Spenser and Renaissance Platonists generally in his distinction between the two types of love and in his suggestion of the stages of development through which the lover passes. But it seems to have escaped notice that this Platonic mysticism is here less important to Milton than the attack on Venus Pandemos. I have already referred to the speech of Socrates in the *Phaedrus* in which

[20] The idea is too well known to require special illustration. But with the famous passage in *Symposium* 210-212 compare *Phaedrus* 237-238, in which Socrates speaks of the relation of Reason and Judgment to the true conception of Love in a way clearly indicated in the passage from *Paradise Lost* which I have just quoted: "When judgment leads us with sound reason to virtue, and asserts its authority, we assign to that authority the name of temperance; but when desire drags us irrationally to pleasures, and has established its sway within us, that sway is denominated excess." And the Earthly Love results, we are told, "When desire, having rejected reason and overpowered judgment which leads to right, is set in the direction of the pleasure which beauty can inspire, and when again under the influence of its kindred desires it is moved with violent motion towards the beauty of corporeal forms, it acquires a surname from this very violent motion, and is called love." On "the scale" by which the soul may ascend to Heavenly Love, compare Bembo's speech (*Il Cortegiano*, IV. lxviii), especially the passage beginning: "Pero l'anima, aliena dai vizii, purgata dai studii della vera filosofia, versata nella vita spirituale, ed esercitata nelle cose dell' intelletto, rivolgendosi alla contemplazion della sua propria sostanzia, quasi da profondissimo sonno risvegliata, apre quegli occhi che tutti hanno e pochi adoprano, e vede in se stessa un raggio di quel lume che è la vera imagine della bellezza angelica a lei communicata," etc.; and also, in lxix, the image of the mystic stair that bears the shadow of sensual beauty on its first step: "per la scala che nell' infimo grado tiene l' ombra di bellezza sensuale ascendiamo alla sublime stanzia ove abita la celeste, amabile e vera bellezza." Here I believe we have the exact source of Milton's phrase. But the hymns to heavenly love and beauty are saturated with the same philosophy of love.

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he speaks of the evil that follows when temperance, which is the result of the rule of reason and judgment, is overborne by desire, or excess. This is the true theme of Raphael's speech, and the Spenser who influences Milton at this point is the creator of Guyon rather than the singer of mystical hymns in honor of heavenly love. The relations between Raphael and Adam are in all points similar to those between the Palmer and Guyon. Raphael, sent by God to warn Adam, is pure and incorruptible; Adam is free and innocent but is subject to temptation. So also the Palmer is the abstract quality of temperance; Guyon is the man striving toward temperance or self-control. The immediate parallels are in the twelfth canto of the Legend of Guyon. When they draw near the Bower of Bliss, Guyon and the Palmer pass the Gulf of Greediness and the Rock of Reproach; the Palmer moralizes on the evils of sensuality (stanzas 3-9). A little later, Phaedria, who had once before tempted Guyon, again appears and is rebuked by the Palmer for immodesty (stanza 16). Various other perils of the sea are exorcised by the Palmer, who is the type of Christ, being able to still the tempest by his "vertuous Staffe" (stanza 26). A beautiful girl, apparently in deep distress, wins Guyon's pity and he orders the boat steered to where she is crying for help, but the Palmer rebukes him in almost the words used by Raphael to Adam:

> She is inly nothing ill apayd;
> But onely womanish fine forgery,
> Your stubborne hart t'affect with fraile infirmity,
> To which when she your courage hath inclined
> Through foolish pitty, then her guilefull bayt
> She will embosome deeper in your mind
> And for your ruine at the last awayt.[21]

So in succeeding adventures, all of the same general nature, all symbolizing the danger in beauty to the unsteadfast mind. The Vision of Maidens is an admirable example of how the Palmer "with temperate advice discounselled" Guyon, for the knight was well-nigh overcome when his guide brought him to his senses (stanzas 66-69). Earlier in the story the Palmer had rightly phrased the warning:

> Most wretched man,
> That to affections does the bridle lend;

[21] Stanzas 28-29. I suppose this scorn of woman is proof that Spenser fared ill at the hands of the sex! At least such is the usual interpretation given similar passages in *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*.

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> In the beginning they are weake and wan,
> But soone through sufferance growe to fearefull end.
> (iv. 34)

Thus the Palmer does not talk of mystical vision when the crisis comes to Guyon; Guyon is living for the time the active, not the contemplative life; he is the true warfaring Christian, and the danger in which he finds himself is clearly pointed out by his guide. So also the issue is clearly pointed out by Raphael, whose true mission is to warn Adam on precisely this point. Love, he says, is judicious, has his seat in reason, not in passion. More specifically he warns him, in a passage the full significance of which seems to have escaped the commentators:

> Take heed lest passion sway
> Thy judgment to do aught which else free will
> Would not admit; thine and of all thy sons
> The weal or woe in thee is placed; beware!
> . . . . Stand fast; to stand or fall
> Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.[22]

These are his final words. It is the climax of the long interview between Adam and the guide who was to him as the Palmer was to Guyon. Adam is free, as Guyon was free in the Cave of Mammon and in the Bower of Bliss. If disaster comes, it will be through the blinding of reason and judgment by passion. The provoking object is not an apple, sign of reasonless and arbitrary prohibition, but *Beauty*.

There is a certain resemblance between the Bower of Bliss and the Garden of Eden. Spenser has several similar descriptions, some of them more detailed than the one here given.[23] But here the parallel

[22] Lines 635-638; 640-641. Here "free will" is identified with "temperance."

[23] The chief source of Milton's description of Eden is, I believe, the description of the Gardens of Adonis in *Faerie Queene* III. vi. According to Professor Osgood and others, this description is in the main original with Spenser, being developed from some hints found by him in classical sources. As conceived by Spenser, the gardens are mystical, and that Milton knew this and was impressed by the symbol is proved by the reference, when he is seeking to give an idea of the beauty of Eden, to their mystic value (IX. 439-442). This is not the place for working out in detail the indebtedness of Milton; a single point may make its significance clear: Spenser represents his paradise as the source of all life, not only the revival of nature with spring but the place whence all life came, just as Eden is to Milton the source of life. For an extended interpretation of Spenser's allegory, see the edition by Todd, 1805, IV. 462-463.

Mr. P. E. More (*Shelburne Essays*, IV. 239 ff.) regards the pastoral scenes in Eden as the true theme of *Paradise Lost*. "Sin", he says, "is not the innermost subject . . . not man's disobedience and fall; these are but the tragic shadows

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apparently ends. Acrasia is the type of the Earthly Venus, beautiful, and tempting through her beauty alone. Guyon has been so prepared by his long training and by the warnings of the Palmer that he does not hesitate but binds her in chains of adamant and destroys her pleasant garden. There is nothing of the tragic here, the characterization, the play and counterplay of dramatic motive which, as Professor Hanford points out, form so moving and impressive a part of Milton's story. Yet, in a sense, the influence of Spenser still dominates that story. For to all intents and purposes Eve becomes the enchantress. She is, *for the time being*, transformed into Acrasia. She has become, she thinks, as the gods; her flushing cheeks betray her; she calls on her lover to complete the "glorious trial of exceeding love" by sharing her fate, whatever it may be.

> Against his better knowledge, not deceived
> But fondly overcome with female charm,

he yields where Guyon was strong. Having yielded, his fate is precisely what Guyon's fate would have been had Acrasia triumphed. The first effect of his sin is that where his love should have proved the scale by which to mount to the vision of Heavenly Love, it is degraded into sensuality. Once more the Platonic philosophy is made concrete through example by a method analogous to that which Milton had in mind when he called Spenser a better teacher than Aquinas. Through trial Guyon, "the true warfaring Christian," is purified; knowing "the utmost that vice promises to her followers" he has acquired the power to "see and know, and yet abstain." Confronted by a similar trial, like Guyon warned and counselled by higher power, like Guyon free to choose evil or good, Adam fell. And if Guyon and the Palmer could have looked on him, he would have seemed to them to be that fair young man whom they discovered in the embraces of Acrasia,—

> O horrible enchantment, that him so did blend!

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cast about the central light. Justification of the ways of God to man is not the true moral of the plot . . . the true theme is Paradise itself." This view, which is assuredly sufficiently daring in its assertion that Milton did not know what he was writing about, Mr. More tries to substantiate by proving that in the Elizabethan time everybody was writing about pastoral retreats from the material and sordid reality of life. That the pastoral element in *Paradise Lost* does find many analogues in Renaissance literature is true, and Milton's interest in the theme is palpable and sincere. But that he wrote the poem around such a conception of life is impossible of belief.

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II

That we are now in a position to define exactly what Milton meant by confessing that Spenser was his original and that he regarded him as a better teacher than Aquinas, with the important bearing of these conclusions on the interpretation of the philosophical content of *Paradise Lost*, I think is clear. In part it is, as I have said, because in the *Faerie Queene* philosophy teaches by examples; Milton's conception of epic conforms to the prevailing Renaissance theory and was best illustrated for him by Spenser's poem. But more important than this is the fact that Aquinas was Aristotelian and Spenser mainly Platonic. The formalism of the one was valuable for method; the ideas of the other were to Milton, as to us, deeper and richer and nearer the religious idealism which, like Spenser, he passionately loved. I have pointed out that Spenser's account of love and beauty, derived ultimately from Plato, is a powerful influence in Milton's treatment of the relation between Raphael and Adam and in his account of Adam's sin, and that the Legend of Guyon not only illustrates perfectly Milton's idea of temperance but also furnishes the model for the philosophic content of *Paradise Lost*. We may now go a step farther.

Spenser's statement that the twelve books of his epic were to illustrate the twelve moral virtues of Aristotle must not blind us to the fact that Plato's influence on him was greater than that of Aristotle.[24] For example, Aristotle's *ἀνδρεία* is to Spenser much more than courage. As Miss Winstanley says, "His 'Holiness' really is the moral courage which is the true foundation of all the other virtues and is essential to them all." Redcrosse is a good example of the "true warfaring Christian" of whom Milton wrote. This is the Platonic conception of the virtue.[25] Again, *σώφροσύνη* in Spenser is Platonic, not Aristotelian; it means not merely temperance as absence of excess, a golden mean, but is the control of all powers, mental desires as well as physical desires, by the rational element in the soul. This, once more, is followed by Milton. Raphael warns Adam against over-curiosity in

[24] For a very clear statement of the relation of Spenser to Aristotle see the learned essay by Miss Winstanley in the introduction to her edition of *Faerie Queene II*, pp. 51 ff. I am greatly indebted to this essay in matters of detail, but the general theory here set forth is my own.

[25] See the *Protagoras*, in which Socrates says that moral courage is an essential element in temperance, and observe that Guyon as well as Redcrosse has this quality. Also observe that it is part and parcel of the teaching in *Areopagitica*.

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learning as well as against misconceptions of love and beauty.[28] The essential difference between Platonism and Aristotelianism as interpreted by Spenser can be clearly seen if we compare the frigid and formal allegory of Perissa, Medina, and Elissa (II. ii. 13 ff.) which is of course his statement of the famous doctrine of the golden mean, with the richer and more human treatment shown in his characterization of Guyon and Britomart. As Professor Hanford has shown, Milton proves his kinship with the Elizabethans in his stress on the purely human relations of the tragedy of Adam and Eve. His treatment of the situation is analogous to Shakespeare's spiritual interpretation of external events in his tragedies. And Milton is also Elizabethan, a follower of Spenser and not Aquinas, in the fact that his epic is based on a deep and fervid idealism, a moral philosophy that is ultimately Platonic, not scholastic, and the fact that this philosophical idealism dominates the poem and unifies it.

For my interpretation, based not on the presence of verbal imitations or parallels in incident but on Milton's own testimony of his debt, on his very clear statements in *Areopagitica*, and on the philosophical affinity between the two poems, helps to make clear both theme and structure of *Paradise Lost*. Defence of dogma there assuredly is, but even this dogma is saturated with Platonism. The qualities of God, often stressed in the poem, are Justice, Love, and Wisdom; the virtue enjoined on Adam is Temperance; these are the four great "ideas" dwelt on in the *Phaedrus* and elsewhere, and dwelt on throughout the *Faerie Queene*. In thus fusing the Christian dogma with a philosophy ultimately Platonic Milton is a child of the Renaissance. In making epic the means of such fusion he is both a child of the Renaissance and the poetical son of Spenser.

[28] See *Paradise Lost*, VIII, 171 ff. The most convincing proof of Milton's indebtedness to Spenser's Platonism in this respect is supplied by the explanation of Eve's dream given by Adam in V. 100 ff. Adam says that in the soul are many lesser faculties that serve Reason as chief; among them is Fancy, whose office is to form imaginations of all external things supplied by the five senses. These imaginations are to be tested by Reason, framing our knowledge or opinion. So Spenser describes the house of Alma (II. ix. 10 ff.) in a passage owing much to Plato's *Republic* VIII, but also deriving elements from other Platonic passages and welded into allegorical story by use of a familiar romance situation, the Castle of Maidens in the Perceval and Galahad cycles. Alma represents the soul controlling the body through reason or temperance; the five senses are her dependents; in the brain dwell Phantastes (Fancy), with Judgment and Memory. Phantastes deals in idle thoughts, fantasies, visions and dreams, but is ruled by Alma.

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If we disregard the purely theological aspect of the poem for the moment we shall see how intimately it is related to Spenser's conception. The virtue to be illustrated is Temperance, defined as control through Reason. The two great "adventures" corresponding to Guyon's experience with Mammon and the story of the Bower of Bliss, are Satan's fall through pride and lust for power, and Adam's fall through that irrational principle of the soul which operates through lust. The two stories, from this point of view, present a complete exposition of the sin that results when *ἀνδρεία* as well as *σωφροσύνη* are lacking.[27] Of these two incidents or "adventures," the second is by far the most important. The awakening of Satan and his followers from the fiery lake, the building of Pandemonium, and the council in Hell fascinate the reader by sheer force of Milton's pictorial imagination. We do not really sympathize with Satan as a rebel against tyranny, though we think we do. Stripped of the stage setting and the dramatic splendor of the scene, the story has no great appeal, as is proved by the fact that the story of the war in Heaven, with its account of Satan's motives and the steps he takes in his campaign, leaves us cold. Furthermore, the story of the fall of Adam immediately gains significance and interest if we recognize that the apple is but a symbol, and that Milton's real theme is to show how Adam fell because he did not stand the test of temperance.[28]

[27] In Spenser both "adventures" come to the hero, who is successful, but Spenser also uses *exempla* to illustrate various aspects of his problem. Milton's change is necessitated by the fact that the main outlines of his story are fixed; he is not free to invent his plot as Spenser was. It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that in this paragraph I am purposely omitting important parts of Milton's poem in the attempt to get a clearer view through isolation of that phase of it under discussion. I don't mean to suggest, for example, that Milton admired Spenser's legend of temperance and cast about for a story that he could treat in similar fashion.

[28] The inconsistency of an implied imperfection in Adam need not trouble us. For one thing, Milton's conception, as stated in the passage from *Areopagitica* quoted earlier in this paper, is explicit: God gave him reason (temperance) which involves choice; Adam is no mere puppet, but is confronted by a "provoking object" and is left free to choose evil or good. Again, according to Milton, there is no such thing as a negative virtue; Satan becomes for the moment, when he sees Eve, "stupidly good" (IX. 465), but he lacks power, through his degradation, to become positively good. Even in Heaven, the virtues are active and subject to continual test: Abdiel stood such a test, Satan did not. Finally, Milton adopts the idea that man was eventually to take the place in Heaven left vacant by the defection of Satan and

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The construction of the story which follows the fall, while influenced by Milton's other sources, is also primarily Spenserian. After their sin, Adam and Eve fall into intemperance through wrath. (IX. 1122 ff.) Their quarrel continues long:

> Thus they in mutual accusation spent
> The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning;
> And of their vain contest appeared no end.

From now on the analogy between the story of Adam and that of Redcrosse becomes very marked. The first book of the *Faerie Queene* follows closely the typical plot of the morality plays. There is the betrayal of virtue through sin (Redcrosse, led astray by Duessa, falls into the hands of Orgoglio); the consequent despair and temptation to suicide (Despair tries to get Redcrosse to kill himself; Una saves the hero); the coming of rescue (Arthur), and then a period of purgation and training in preparation for salvation (the sojourn in the house of Coelia). All these steps are followed by Milton. Adam, plunged in despair, longs for death and Eve advises suicide, thus appearing once more as an evil influence.[29] Next, they repent and

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his followers. He was put on earth to go through a process of development that should make him fit for Heaven. This development, the nature of which is suggested by Raphael, is interrupted by Adam's sin, and not until Christ made atonement could the original plan be carried out. The perfecting of virtue through trial is Milton's idea here as in *Areopagitica*. It is not characteristic of other versions of the fall of man, so far as I know, and as it is at the heart of Spenser's theory, it seems to me fair to think that Spenser's influence was felt by Milton. Only God is perfect and alone (*Paradise Lost*, VIII. 403-408); angels and men must prove their virtue through trial; when Christ becomes man he too is subjected to temptation, and the test is of his temperance.

[29] X. 720 ff. Note that Eve is not like Una but like Despair. Note also that Adam resists Eve's temptation, not through the high reason advanced by Redcrosse but in a speech singularly reminiscent of Belial's reply to Moloch in II. 151 ff. But Milton knows his Spenser thoroughly, as is evidenced by the fact that he uses the most important part of Redcrosse's reply to Despair in Michael's rebuke of Adam's desire for death. With Michael's words:

> Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'st
> Live well; how long or short permit to Heaven,
> (XI, 553-554)

compare those of Redcrosse:

> The terme of life is limited,
> Ne may a man prolong, nor shorten, it:
> The souldier may not move from watchfull sted,
> Nor leave his stand untill his Captaine bed.
> (I. ix. 41)

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pray for forgiveness. In response to their prayer, Michael is sent from Heaven to instruct them, as Coelia instructs Redcrosse and as Alma prepares Guyon. It is to be noted, in further proof of my contention that Milton's theme is temperance, that Michael several times points this special moral, as for example in the vision or Masque of Death, where the succeeding stages in the history of man from Cain to Noah represent various types of intemperance, and become, therefore, a series of *exempla* such as Spenser uses in the *Faerie Queene*. Thus, Cain represents Wrath; the coming of diseases is attributed to Gluttony; the sons of Seth are betrayed by Lechery; the coming of war brings Pride, Avarice, Envy, and is followed by an epoch in which Idleness is mingled with the other Seven Deadly Sins, the whole illustrating sins against temperance:

> Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
> Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
> Surfeit, and lust, till wantonness and pride
> Raise out of friendship hostile deeds in peace.
> . . . . . For the Earth shall bear
> More than enough, that temperance may be tried.
> So all shall turn degenerate, all depraved,
> Justice and temperance, truth and faith, forgot.[30]

By this means Adam learns the lesson of Temperance, which is thus seen to be the dominating theme of the entire story, and he is prepared for Salvation. The vision of the history of his descendants has classical warrant, of course, but it is worth noting that Spenser uses the device in the *Faerie Queene* for the enheartenment of his hero through a vision of great destiny. Milton seems to have in mind the scene in which Redcrosse is led to the Mount of Vision by Contemplation, an old man (I. x). The process of preparation for Salvation is completed, and the angel tells Adam:

> This having learned, thou hast attained the sum
> Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the stars
> Thou knew'st by name . . . . Only add
> Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith;
> Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,

Nevertheless, the arguments put forth by Despair so move Redcrosse that had it not been for Una he would have yielded.

[30] The entire passage begins with XI. 422. The Masque of the Seven Deadly Sins is used by Spenser in I. iv. 17 ff. His use of the device is suggested by similar passages in the Moralities, though his immediate source, as Professor Lowes has recently pointed out, is Gower.

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> By name to come called Charity, the soul
> Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loth
> To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
> A Paradise within thee, happier far. (XII. 575 ff.)[31]

If Spenser's plan had been strictly followed, Adam, now reconciled to God as was Redcrosse, purified by repentance and instructed by Michael, as Redcrosse after bitter repentance was instructed by Coelia, would have met the dragon Satan, as Redcrosse met him, and conquered. This he could not do, for obvious reasons, but at this point Adam the individual is merged in the larger concept Man, and the "greater Man," spoken of in Milton's first invocation, is pointed out as the means by which the triumph over Satan is to be won. So in the contest with the dragon Redcrosse is no longer an Arthurian knight but the type of Christ. The three days contest symbolizes the victory over Satan and the Powers of Darkness, by which the aged King of Eden is freed from his long suffering.

In my exposition of the philosophical content of *Paradise Lost* it has been necessary to disregard Milton's defence of dogma and seemingly to exaggerate certain elements of the poem in order, through isolating them, to make clear their significance. The true statement of the "theme" is not a simple but a complex proposition, and more is involved in the word "justify" than can be phrased in the simple proposition which I nevertheless believe to be fundamental. But is it not true that much of this dogma, however necessary to be observed by a poet dealing with matter supposed to be as fixed as Holy Writ and however sincerely believed by Milton, such material, for instance, as makes up the greater part of the third book,—is it not true that this dogma is in a sense subordinate to the philosophical idealism which I have defined as representing Milton's true interpretation of the problem? To have converted the story of the fall of man, with all its theological accompaniments, into a treatise on the Platonic conception of Temperance, would have been impossible to Milton, and even if he had tried it, his work would not have passed

[31] In this there is no inconsistency. Adam's fall was not beyond all remedy as was plainly shown by Milton in his Invocation to the first book; it corresponds to the fall of Redcrosse, or Holiness, in Spenser's first book; it also illustrates the fact, already explained, that Milton and Spenser both conceived of virtue as capable of growth.

Note also that the Christian Graces mentioned in this passage (XII. 581 ff.) are part of the preparation of Redcrosse in the House of Coelia. Milton follows the scheme even in details!

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the censor. Free conscience, of which he wrote in his sonnet, is not altogether free, as anyone knows who knows Puritanism whether in the seventeenth century or the twentieth. But it is time for us to recognize that Milton, like the others in that little band of exalted spirits—Euripides, Dante, Shakespeare for example—who have reached the topmost heights of song, was greater than his theology. In the discipline and self control of the Platonic conception of Temperance he found an idealism that enriches and informs the entire body of his major work. To leave this philosophical content out, or to see it in *Comus* and not in *Paradise Lost*, is to miss a vital thing. In Spenser Milton found an exposition of idealism in a form that for a variety of reasons made a deeper impression on him than any other single element in his experience. To it his spirit responded as surely as the spirit of Spenser responded to that divine "talk" which Alcibiades wished to grow old in hearing. Beside such influence, the influence of Andreini or Vondel or Grotius seems dry and unillumined; the discussion of it empty. It was a sense of something far more deeply interfused that caused Milton to recognize in Spenser his "original," and to count him a better teacher than Aquinas.

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To such students as well as to non-specialists who desire to know something of the topics treated in the lectures, the book is invaluable. It is matter for regret that the revision was not made complete enough to take fuller account of the extraordinary advances in our knowledge of the stage and its history which we owe to Reynolds, Albright, Gildersleeve, Graves, and others. The bibliography, at least, might have included a record of this work.

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many of the performances and has known intimately many of the actors, but also in his judgments on different ideals in presenting Shakespeare, Mr. Frohman's for instance, or Mr. Granville Barker's. Even more significant is the value of the book as a corrective to the exclusively literary and antiquarian study of Shakespeare common today. Students of Shakespeare's conception of life and character, and students of the Elizabethan stage will find much of value here. Finally, some parts of the book are distinguished as "mere literature"; the reviewer will not soon forget the last paragraph in the book, dealing with Mantell's personation of King John.

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Lyons, Jessie M. Spenser's 'Muiopotmos' as an Allegory. Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXIV, 90.

Osgood, Charles Grosvenor. A Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser. pp. xiii, 997. Washington. The Carnegie Institution.

More than most poets Spenser is difficult to understand because of his apparent lack of system either in plot, structure or in philosophy. It is, therefore, not only for the assistance which it will render to students of Spenser's syntax, use of archaism, and diction—all subjects requiring further attention than they have received, but also to students of his ideas, that Professor Osgood's work stands out as a great service to scholarship. Mr. Osgood does not claim too much when he says, after speaking of the possibility of our coming to a fuller understanding of Spenser through the study of the various elements composing his poetry: "A concordance to his poems, whatever its minor uses, is content to justify itself as a means to the discovery of these real values in Spenser, that his cultural and spiritualizing power may be enlarged among readers who are by nature capable of his influence." The gratitude of scholars is also due to the Carnegie Institution for the sump-

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tuous form in which the book is printed, as well as for thus contributing to philological scholarship through publishing a work which private enterprise could hardly be expected to undertake.

Padelford, F. M. Spenser and the Spirit of Puritanism, Modern Philology, XIV. 31.

IV. Other Writers and Works

Bonnard, G. La Controverse de Martin Marprelate, 1588-1590. Genève. A. Jullien.

Briggs, W. D. Source-Material for Jonson's 'Epigrams' and 'Forest.' Classical Philology.

Combs, J. H. Old, Early, and Elizabethan English in the Southern Mountains. American Dialect Notes, IV. 283.

Cook, Albert S. Skelton's 'Garland of Laurel' and Chaucer's 'House of Fame.' Modern Language Review, XI. 9.

Croll, Morris William, and Clemons, Harry, (eds.) Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, and Euphues and his England. By John Lyly. pp. lxiv, 473. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co.

The text, prepared by Mr. Clemons, is the first which has been published in modern spelling and punctuation; the notes and an extended introduction are by Professor Croll. These notes are valuable because they embody the results of researches into Lyly's sources by Bond, Feuillerat, De Vocht, and others, and contribute further matter, not before published, on the influence of Alciati, Gascoigne, and Thomas Lupton, and on Lyly's proverb-lore. Thus because of the convenience of a modernized text and an annotation far more extensive than has been available heretofore, this edition will at once take high rank. In the introduction Professor Croll expounds a most interesting theory of the origin of Euphuism. This view, which is developed with great learning and skill, is that Euphuism is not primarily the product of humanism but a survival of medieval rhetoric. The *schemata* of medieval Latin, in Lyly's book translated into the vernacular, here reached a climax of glory before modern thought and style put an end to a tradition that had lasted twenty centuries. Euphuism is therefore not derived from the imitation of one man or set of men but is a product of medievalism still surviving also in Elizabethan sermons and court entertainments. Quite apart from the question of the validity of its main thesis the essay will command attention because it is a valuable contribution to that more accurate interpretation of the meaning of the English Renaissance to which contemporary scholarship is tending.

Hersey, Frank Cheney. Sir Walter Raleigh. pp. xiii, 109. New York. Macmillan.

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A very attractive little volume containing a brief introduction and selections from the poems and prose writings of the great Elizabethan to whom Spenser gave the title of "the shepherd of the ocean." Tennyson's ballad of "The Revenge" accompanies the reprint of Ralegh's account of the battle, and selections from Ralegh's letters and from the report of the trial give insight into the forceful personality of the man and a sense of the dramatic in his life. The book will call deserved attention to the literary gifts of a man who is commonly thought of as a man of action alone.

Kaun, E. Konventionelles in den Elizabethanischen Sonetten mit Berücksichtigung der französischen und italienischen Quellen. Greifswald Dissertation.

Lazarus, G. Technik und Stil von Hero und Leander. Bonn Dissertation.

Long, Edgar. Drayton's 'Eighth Nymphal.' Studies in Philology, XIII. 180.

Reed, E. G. Two Seventeenth Century Hunting Songs. Modern Philology, XIV. 135.

Rollins, H. E. Notes on Thomas Deloney. Modern Language Notes, XXXII. 121.

Sellers, H. Samuel Daniel: Additions to the Text. Modern Language Review, XI. 28.

Whipple, T. K. Isocrates and Euphuism. Modern Language Review, XI. 15 and 129.

Wallace, Malcolm William. The Life of Sir Philip Sidney. pp. 428. Cambridge University Press (Putnam).

A thorough and scholarly presentation of the facts of Sidney's life, admirably documented, and containing much valuable material about persons and policies in England during the period. The accounts of Sidney's boyhood, of education in his time, and of some of the elaborate entertainments given in honor of the queen are valuable; the discussion of Sidney as a writer lacks distinction, and in general the book fails either to give vividness to the stirring events and personalities of the time or to Sidney's own complex personality. But it is packed with information and is indispensable not only to one who wishes to know Sidney's biography but also to students of Elizabethan history.

V. Milton

Bailey, Margaret L. Milton and Jakob Boehme. A Study of German Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century England. Oxford University Press.

Baldwin, E. C. A Note on Paradise Lost IX. Modern Language Notes, XXXII. 119.

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Barstow, Marjorie, Milton's Use of the Forms of Epic Address. Modern Language Notes, XXXI. 120.

Darnall, F. M. Milton's 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso.' Modern Language Notes, XXXI. 56.

Daehler, A. H. Adam's Motive. Modern Language Notes, XXXI. 187.

Hale, W. T. 'Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England.' Edited with introduction, notes and glossary. Yale Studies in English, LIV.

Thaler, Alwin. Milton's 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso.' Modern Language Notes, XXXI. 437.

Thaler, Alwin. Milton and Thomson. Modern Language Notes, XXXI. 439.

Thompson, E. N. S. John Milton. Topical Bibliography. Yale University Press.

Though making no pretensions to completeness this bibliography of some one hundred pages will prove invaluable to the serious student of Milton. The titles cover a wide range of topics, including not only Milton's life and works, but such related subjects as Puritanism, seventeenth century education, classical literary theory, etc. The arrangement is clear and convenient, and few important books or articles are omitted. The volume is uniform with Professor Thompson's "Essays on Milton," a useful introductory guide to some of the chief aspects and problems of Milton scholarship.

V. General Works

Greenlaw, Edwin. An Outline of the Literature of the English Renaissance. Boston. Sanborn & Co.

Contains introduction, statement of problems, and chronological outlines, with selected bibliography.

Jourdan, G. V. The Movement toward Catholic Reform in the Sixteenth Century. New York. Dutton.

Klein, Arthur J. Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co.

Scott, Mary Augusta. Elizabethan Translations from the Italian. Vassar Semi-Centennial Series. pp. lxxxi, 558. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company.

The preface gives an account of Professor Scott's work in this field extending over a quarter of a century; the index of titles covers nearly five hundred items; there is also an introductory essay on the Italian Renaissance in England. The body of the work is an exhaustive bibliography of translations classi-

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fied as romances in prose, poetry, plays, metrical romances, religion and theology, science and the arts, grammars and dictionaries, collections of proverbs, voyages and discovery, history and politics, manners and morals, and Italian and Latin publications in England. Accompanying the items are many explanatory and bibliographical notes that add greatly to the value of this most useful book.

Shakespeare's England. An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age. Two volumes, pp. 546, 610, with many illustrations. Oxford University Press.

A mine of information on all subjects connected with the life of the period, made vivid through profuse illustrations and through numerous extracts from contemporary accounts of life and manners, while the whole is given point as well as illustration by constant reference to Shakespeare's plays. Indeed, the two thick volumes, packed with information on every conceivable subject, may be regarded almost as a commentary on Shakespeare, testifying not only to the richness and color of Elizabethan life but also to the infinite concentration of that life in the writings of one man. Some idea of the great number of topics treated in the two volumes may be had from the indexes: one on passages cited from Shakespeare's works, twelve triple column pages in small type; another of fifteen triple column pages on proper names, and a third, containing nine pages, on subjects and technical terms. The volumes contain thirty monographs by specialists who write on such subjects as the court, the army and navy, travel, education and scholarship, science, the fine arts, the life of the town, sports and pastimes, authors, actors, the playhouse, the language, and even on such out of the way subjects as coinage and handwriting. Each chapter is supplied with an exhaustive bibliography of contemporary sources.

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Studies in Philology

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"I'LL NOT TRUST THE PRINTED WORD—"[1]

By James Finch Royster

A reasonable method of testing the assumptions we have made in regard to institutions of a time gone by is to look at institutions of our own day as they might appear to men living many generations after us, viewed from a body of evidence as arbitrarily handed down to them by time as time has bequeathed us evidence bearing upon the life of a past day. Using this looking-backward-to-the-present method of testing the probable correctness of the generally accepted reconstruction of the institution of the English language a thousand years ago, furnishes interesting speculation, when we try to project into the future the present attitude of the philological mind, and to see how it would, from a distant date, interpret the facts of the English language of the nineteenth century, if it were provided with evidence bearing upon the state of our language in that century equal in quantity and quality to that which we have inherited from early England.

For this purpose, let us imagine that to the philologists of the thirty-first century there have been preserved of specimens of the English language in the nineteenth century only (1) about twenty-four thousand lines of the poetry of Shelley, Matthew Arnold, Browning, and Tennyson (Tennyson's dialect poetry has been lost); and (2) about a million words of prose from Macaulay's *History of England,* Pater's *Marius the Epicurean,* and Newman's *Sermons on Subjects of the Day.* From this evidence alone students of the English language in the thirty-first century have gained all their knowledge of nineteenth century English. An intervening dark

[1] Read at the meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, Chicago, December 28, 1916.

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age has swept away the plentiful supply of books, magazines, and newspapers printed in that former day. Dictionaries, grammars, school rhetorics, and phonograph records—if they ever existed—have been utterly destroyed. No philologist of the thirty-first century has been granted sufficient linguistic imagination to realize that all the writing inherited from the nineteenth century had been composed in a highly formalized standard dialect, consciously used by cultivated writers; nor has any student of language felt the severe limitation placed upon the validity of his evidence by the absence from it of any examples of writing that had attempted to reproduce, in even approximate form, the colloquial language of the time in which it was composed. Furthermore, philologians of the thirty-first century do not take into consideration the fact that the demands of style, especially in poetry, produce a form of writing that must be discounted as language evidence.

Some of the conclusions that philologists of the thirty-first century have drawn from the stiff and formal evidence in their hands are interesting and amusing. Here there is space to do no more than to mention a few of the assumptions that have been derived from the evidence: (1) that the contractions *ain't* and *won't* had not been constructed; (2) that *rst* in *burst* had not been assimilated into *sst;* (3) that the verbs *to electrocute, to burglarize, to enthuse, to suicide* had not appeared, only the corresponding nouns having been found; (4) that there was no confusion between the intransitives and the causatives *sit* and *set, lie* and *lay;* (5) that the double negative was practically never used to strengthen a negation; (6) that *get* in the sense *I got to see the play last night* is first recorded in the year 2234 A. D.; (7) that *stick it out* and *leave him in the lurch,* among a large number of such common phrases, investigation has not found in the language of the nineteenth century. Absence of a word, a form, or a phrase from the paltry and one-sided record of nineteenth century English is held to be proof conclusive that the word, the form, or the phrase had not existed in the language of that century.

It is, furthermore, the practice of philological scholarship in this fabulous age of the future to compare as being set upon equal language levels their written record of the formal dialect of the nineteenth century with the less restrained writing that had been done from the twenty-second to the twenty-fifth centuries, when the

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weight of a previously pressing standard had been removed by a foreign conquest of English by—shall it be said the Russian, the Turk, or the Japanese?—and when, as a consequence of the establishment of the language of the conqueror as the polite vehicle of literary expression, the difference between popular English and written English had been greatly lessened.

It is in this year, the year 3017 A. D., that the fast and smug conclusions of thirty-first century philologists have been rudely shattered by the finding of a fairly large body of nineteenth century prose and poetry which had been for centuries lost. In this material newly come to light there are many of the novels of Dickens, Kingsley, and Thackeray; some of the plays of T. W. Robertson, Ibsen in the Archer-Gosse translation, and Shaw; the poetry of Rudyard Kipling; the file of *The* (London) *Times* for 1880-1900. The consequence of the unearthing of this language material is a rapid revision of philological opinion; dates depended upon as the first instances of the occurrence of words are at once restated in a hurriedly published appendix to the re-revised new *New Oxford Dictionary;* attribution of foreign sources for the origin of many words and constructions are speedily but regretfully denied. Kipling becomes a great store-house of first uses.

To us who know at first-hand the facts of the language of our own day and of that immediately preceding our own, the opinions of thirty-first century philologists are absurd. Do they strike us, however, as being any more absurd than our own opinions about the language of the Old English period would appear to King Alfred's subjects? The philological practice I have tried to imagine employed eleven hundred years from to-day is, in fact, no less imaginative and little less unfair than a present-day widespread philological practice, which puts a false evidence-value upon the written record we have inherited from the Old English period, and which confuses the relation of this record to that written down in two or three centuries after the Norman Conquest. The amount, the date, and the *quality* of the Old English written record have not been sufficiently disturbing elements to the minds of modern philologists who are concerned with the language of the Old English period.

The preserved written matter from Old English times is, in

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amount, more than respectable. Its approximate twenty-four thousand lines of poetry fall short, however, by about five thousand lines of the number of lines in *In Memoriam* and *The Ring and the Book;* its approximate million words of prose are, in rough calculation, equalled by the number of words in Macaulay's *History of England.* Although the great body of the Old English poetical remains comes to us in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the composition of this poetry, with the exception of that of a few short pieces, does not go, to be conservative, beyond the end of the ninth century. Even if the language of the original forms of this poetry was altered and revised in the late copies, it is more than likely that it was still far behind the natural language of the time in which the manuscripts were written. Old English prose is of later composition than the poetry, and is therefore, in many respects, of greater evidence-value than the poetry.

Restrictions that the date and the quantity of the Old English written record throw upon its validity as evidence of the language of the whole Old English period are not nearly so severe as is the restriction cast upon it by the quality of the writing we have from that age. Of familiar writing, of popular literature, of vivid every-day tales we have none. Whether there was any writing of this kind or not, is a literary and not a linguistic speculation. Histories of English literature do take pains to point out that the drama and the novel, forms in which we may expect to find a selective representation of colloquial language, are not preserved in Old English literature. Histories of the English language do not, however, express deep regret over the lack of these literary *genres.* What we have of Old English literature is, in fact, largely impersonal in authorship, extremely serious in subject matter, highly formal in tone, and unusually clean in expression. That much of it is translation and adaptation of Latin writing is a fact that has been given great consideration by syntacticians and lexicographers; but scholars have not felt the almost equally great unnaturalness set upon the Old English written language by the fact that the writers of it were deeply conscious of their highly organized style—one of them according to tradition receiving this consciousness by divine interposition—and by the fact that it was composed, in the form in which we have it, by learned professionals.

Old English literature, too, is written in a fairly consistent stan-

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dard dialect, a selected literary language—in a raised form of West Saxon or in a literary dialect common to all England. It is a level of language that must have differed from the informal, colloquial level of its day, the form of which unfortunately is not recorded. But the fact that it is not recorded is no reason whatever why its existence should be blinked, as it has been blinked by students of the English language; our philologists have been too pleasantly contented with the written record, and have not felt impelled to practice hypothesis for an old English vulgar in post-historic days; they have put such great faith in the record that they have neglected to keep in mind the fact that there was an undercurrent of language in Old England, the living, changing form of speech, which finds its first recorded expression at the beginning of the Middle English period. Content to have attempted to arrest at a fixed point the natural movement of language "in order to study it as a naturalist kills and pins out a butterfly in order to study life," our philologists have too steadily considered Old English to have been an immobile, a dead language at the time when it was being spoken by living beings. How far the norm proper to the written language differed from that proper to oral intercourse or to informal writing will, of course, never be known; but lacking this knowledge, we must humbly admit that we possess but one term of the equation, and that not the most necessary for a reconstruction of the institution of language in Old England.

Walter Besant's statement of the practice the writer of a historical novel should follow is also a just statement of the practice the historical grammarian should follow, unless he is willing to confess to the limitation that he has no desire or no means to reproduce the linguistic life of a time gone by, and that he is interested only in language that has for a moment been arrested in formal literature. In *The Art of Fiction* (p. 38) Besant says: "Of course, one who desires to reproduce a time gone by would not go to the poets, the divines, the historians, so much as to the familiar literature, the letters, the comedies, tales, essayists, and newspapers." It is the writing of just this first group—"the poets, the divines, the historians"—that makes up the Old English record.

Absolute trust in this record as a full representation of the language of its time creates a false basis of comparison when the

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language of the record is looked upon as the direct source of the language of the Middle English period. The English language that continued into post-Conquest England was not the highly wrought language of *Beowulf;* it was not the ornate rhythmical prose of Aelfric's sermons; it was the speech of those who were talking while Wulfstan was writing. The weak remnant of English literary tradition in the tenth century was completely suppressed by the Norman Conquest; the standard language fell away; inflectional deterioration, whch had probably been far advanced in informal language when the Normans came, now had no conservative force opposed to its spread in the written language. One who wishes to do so should not be prevented from wondering how frequently and with what ease *Beowulf* and Alfred's books were read in the centuries immediately following the Conquest, and whether the ravages of time will account for the lack of Middle English redactions of important Old English compositions.

It is quite unfair to confuse the language level of Old English literature with the language level of Middle English writing, for Middle English literature was produced under conditions widely different from those under which Old English literature was composed. To demand conformity in succession from one to the other is to fall into a misunderstanding of the relation between the two ages of the English language. Habitual unfair comparisons of these different language levels have had the result of producing a state of mind in students of the English language too ready to accept theories of foreign influence and foreign borrowing as explanations of the presence in Middle English of words and constructions that are not recorded in the Old English written record. In his article on English syntax in Paul's *Grundriss,* Einenkel, for instance, has little hesitation in saying of any construction in Middle English not found in the Old English record, "fremd, vielleicht aus dem französischen," even in cases where it is just as reasonable to suppose that the English and the French minds had independently travelled the same psycho-linguistic circle, and that the English mind had made the journey years before a record of the experience got written down.

On the lexical side, the theory of Skandinavian influence—which, by the way, is as old as Junius—was at one time carried entirely too far, as any enthusiasm is likely to be. That we are swinging

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away from the complete mastery of this theory over our lexical minds is indicated by the change in the practice of the makers of the *New English Dictionary* from its early to its later volumes. Since the excellent work of Björkman, Flom, and Wall, a philological generation ago, some of the first claims of Skandinavian influence have been rejected. Professor Napier (*History of the Holy Rood Tree,* Notes, p. 38) has recovered for Old English the word *die.* Professor Manly has been saying for years that if Modern English *bullock* is from Old English *bulluc,* Modern English *bull* must be from Old English **bulle,* and not from Skandinavian as has been claimed, even though **bulle* has missed a writing-down in the Old English record. Let the case of *leg* be added; this word is quite generally considered to be a borrowing from Skandinavian *leggr;* Germanic **lagjo-s,* which gives Old Norse *leggr,* would also have produced Old English **legge,* perfectly capable of furnishing us Modern English *leg,* without phonetic violence; but **legge* is unrecorded in the restricted body of evidence of Old English we have. The reason why it is unrecorded may quite likely be the fact that in formal language it had upon it the mock-modesty taboo, as *die* carried, and still partly carries, the superstitious taboo. In the language, especially the written language, of how many users of English to-day are the words *die, bull,* and *leg* absent? On account of a taboo of one kind or another we probably miss many words from the Old English record that were in the Old English language. Determination of the conditions upon which taboo was based, in an age far removed from our own, is a difficult task of reconstruction.

Students of the English language should recognize the existence of an Old English vulgar, even if a great part of it never got into the later standard dialect; some of it unquestionably did, and it is probably not in the uncouth language of rustic dialects that all of it is to be sought and found. A rational hypothesis for non-recorded Old English forms and words should be practiced. With eagerness, we hypothesize a complete common Germanic language existent before the days of commonly practiced writing; and with freedom, we postulate common Old English forms and words existent before the days of commonly practiced writing. We have realized the narrow limitations as linguistic evidence of the Gothic language we have inherited; and possessing no example of

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the vulgar Gothic that was written in the never-opened letter which the servant in George Gissing's *Veranilda* was directed by Marcian to carry to Totilla, we easily assume Gothic forms and words. But we seem to believe that, because a part of the Old English language succeeded in getting written down, we have no further need of hypothesis. In the work of English historical grammarians concerned with the English language after 700 A. D., we find few—too few—asterisks.

The incompleteness of the written record as linguistic evidence Goethe expressed in this way: "Literatur ist das Fragment der Fragmente; das Wenigste, was geschah und gesprochen worden, ward geschrieben, von geschriebenen ist das Wenigste übrig geblieben" (*Sprüche in Prosa,* No. 350).

The University of Texas.

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HAMLET PREPARES FOR ACTION

By Samuel A. Tannenbaum, M. D.

In a recent issue (April, 1917) of *Studies in Philology* Mr. Tucker Brooke puts forth the novel and ingenious theory that the justification for introducing "some seventy lines of melodramatic bombast," *i. e.*, the Pyrrhus-Priam-Hecuba story (in *Hamlet*, II, 2, 431-498), is to be found in the effect they have upon Hamlet, namely, in dispelling the fit of "blues" caused by disappointment or excessive introspection, in momentarily unclouding his brain and effecting "a brief moment of clear vision." If this is true, Hamlet's soliloquy ("O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I!") which immediately follows the actor's exit must be quite logical and free from neurotic or psychopathic taint and should give us the key to the reason for Hamlet's delay in executing vengeance upon his lecherous, treacherous, murderous uncle. If it is true (as Mr. Brooke tries to convince us) that "Hamlet is never more normal than at the end of this long and carefully prepared soliloquy" we must agree with him, "keen and efficient thinker" that he is, in doubting "the trustworthiness of his supernatural visitant" and we must acquit him of attempting to evade his sacred duty by a bit of self-deception, by a subterfuge, by pretending to doubt the genuineness of the Ghost. In this "carefully prepared" soliloquy Mr. Brooke finds confirmation of Professor Bradley's theory of Hamlet's "melancholy" and, at the same time, "a wider intellectual range" than in any other soliloquy (except the seventh) in the play. For these reasons he insists that Hamlet's words about the possibility of the Ghost being the devil in disguise should not "be taken at less than their full face value."

To me this soliloquy and the circumstances surrounding it are thus all amiss interpreted. According to Mr. Brooke Hamlet has the "blues," is "in the lowest spirits he has shown," when the arrival of the strolling players is announced to him, and craves for strong excitement. "When the entertainment is over and Hamlet is left alone . . . he is in the position of a mountain climber long held inactive by befogging mist, when suddenly the cloud is dispelled and instantaneously he sees his course before him." In all this there are several serious errors. Hamlet is not "in the

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lowest spirits he has shown" hitherto. He was much more despondent and life-weary when he longed for this too-too solid flesh to resolve itself into a dew and still more so after he heard the horrible tale of his uncle's treason, fratricide and incest. Nor does Hamlet seem to me to be suffering from the "blues" at this particular time. It is true that on this day he bid the fair Ophelia a long, unseemly and silent farewell, but when he meets the weak, fond, old man, her father, and fools him to the top of his bent, he seems, judging from his jocularity, his facetiousness, his insults, and his lewd allusions, to be quite reconciled to her loss. The encounter with the two simple and superficial "little eyases," Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, in which he indulges himself in a long and unprofitable discussion about the children players and in a rhapsody on mankind, leaves him in a state of exaltation marred only by a momentary bitterness when his mind suddenly reverts to the popularity of his uncle-father. The announcement of the arrival of the players at once dispels the gloom ("There did seem in him a kind of joy To hear of it") and his greeting to them manifests a buoyancy of spirits that puts the "blues" out of the question. Hamlet is never shown us in a happier frame of mind than he is at this moment. Thoughts of revenge are forgotten and once again—and for the last time—he is a boy, a student, an ardent devotee of the drama. What more natural than that, having at his command the tragedians of the city, he should want to hear his favorite speeches recited? It is not because he craves for excitement or because a play alleviates the "blues" that he wants the players to stay, but because he can't resist the temptation of the moment and, this probably wholly unconsciously, because for the time being it puts off the acting of the Ghost's dread command.

Although it is not of much relevance to our present discussion, we may point out that a person suffering from a momentary or fugitive attack of the blue devils does not crave for excitement or indulge in mirthful sarcasms or seek entertainment. One who craves for excitement is not despondent and surely not melancholic. The melancholic's interest is so self-centered that he cannot take any interest in what goes on about him; he refuses to be drawn out of himself. Hamlet is boyish and unhappy in this scene but not melancholic. That Hamlet is not in a state of normal mental health we admit, but his malady is neither the "blues" nor "melancholy."

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Mr. Brooke is of the opinion that Shakespere chose that particular speech for the actor's recital because "the Pyrrhus-Priam-Hecuba story furnishes a kind of parallel to the Hamlet-Claudius-Gertrude story," because it serves as "an exciting bit of dramatic entertainment," and because "it continues the rather good-natured protest concerning the 'little eyases' by an obvious [!] parody of the turgid lines on the death of Priam" in Marlowe and Nashe's play of "Dido, Queen of Carthage." This may all be very well as far as Shakespere goes, but it leaves wholly unanswered a much more important and hitherto unconsidered question, videlicet: why did Hamlet want to hear "Aeneas' tale to Dido," a speech that, he tells us, he had heard but once. (Whether Hamlet had heard this unacted or at most only once-acted play before or after his father's death is as unascertainable as the date of his letter to Ophelia. As regards such details Shakespere was very careless.) If it had been merely that Hamlet wanted distraction or craved for excitement, or (which I do not admit) that Shakespere wanted to parody Nashe, or that he chose this method of depicting Hamlet's interest in dramatic art and his quality as a critic, many another speech would have served the poet's turn. Hamlet's interest in that "passionate speech" is the problem for us.

Since the publication of Professor Freud's fascinating and highly instructive book, "The Psychopathology of Every-day Life," we know that there is no accident in the domain of mental phenomena, that every thought that floats into an individual's consciousness is determined by conscious or unconscious forces in his soul. Hamlet is painfully conscious of the fact that for some inexplicable reason, notwithstanding that he was solicited thereto by heaven and hell, and has the cause, means, will, and strength to do it, he cannot bring himself to such a pitch of berserker rage as to plunge his fatal sword into the entrails of the villain who had murdered his father, seduced his mother, and "popped in between the election and his hopes." The student from Wittenberg, whose disposition is shaked with thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls, cannot deliberately kill a human being, the paragon of animals. O, cursed spite that ever he was born to set it right! If only this thing were not to do, if he could only forget it! Not to think of his duty he must think of other matters. But the repressed thought of his painful duty unconsciously influences all his thoughts and actions

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and, his attention being off its guard during his colloquy with the players, determines his choice of the gruesome narrative of "old grandsire" Priam's cruel butchery by the "rugged" (*i. e.*, fierce) "hellish Pyrrhus." This tale impressed him and stuck in his memory because he too had to "kill a king," because he found himself in some of the lines of the narrative, and because the unnamed poet, whose sentiments are expressed in the comments on Hecuba (ll. 490-498), undoubtedly shared Hamlet's horror of the deed. "Young Pyrrhus" (so Shakespere elsewhere calls him), like "young Hamlet," finds "his antique sword rebellious to his arm, repugnant to command"; he too, as a painted tyrant, "like a neutral to his will and matter," did nothing until "aroused vengeance set him new a-work." That Shakespere changes Vergil's "brassy arms" to "sable arms" serves to heighten the resemblance between the two young men. How utterly revolting to Hamlet such a deliberate murder is, the poet indicates in a subtle touch that has escaped all the commentators. It will be noted that when Hamlet attempts to recall to memory the first line (l. 431) of the speech under consideration he makes a mistake; some words ("like the Hyrcanian beast") spring to consciousness which really occur nowhere in the speech, nor, as far as concerns us, in the old play of "Dido." The significance of this false recollection is evident if we bear Freud's rule, *ut supra,* in mind and remember that the Hyrcanian tiger was proverbial of all that is barbarous and savage. Hamlet's unconscious judgment of Pyrrhus could hardly be better indicated.

How smart a lash that speech doth give Hamlet's conscience is evidenced clearly enough by the passionate vehemence of the outburst of self-abuse he indulges in as soon as he is alone. He is a beast that lives but to sleep and feed, coward-like he wastes his time in fruitless meditation; he is a rascal, a villain, a dreamer, an ass, and what not. He who has sworn to wipe away all trivial fond records, all pressures past that youth and observation copied in the book and volume of his brain, is entertaining a troupe of actors instead of sweeping to his revenge. There is here no "vain search" for the cause of his inaction but a bad attack of the "blues" brought on by the realization of the difference between himself and the deed-achieving Pyrrhus. In this mood of utter despondency he suddenly resolves, as suddenly and as needlessly as he had decided to put an antic disposition on, to have the players

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enact "The Murder of Gonzago" before the court. What it was beyond the presence of the actors that prompted him to this futile and dangerous step can only be conjectured. Many critics, Mr. Brooke among them, think it was an honest desire to catch the conscience of the king and thus corroborate the Ghost. With this view I, and others whose judgments cry in the top of mine, cannot agree. Had Hamlet been sincere in his doubts as to the Ghost's honesty we should have heard of it ere this and he would not have spoken of it at the very end of his soliloquy as a kind of afterthought, a kind of justification for again putting off his father's commandment. Besides, had he been convinced of the righteousness of his motive in staging "the Mouse-trap" he would not, could not, have indulged in such a tempestuous torrent of incoherent self-abuse and accused himself of being "unpregnant of his cause." His whole speech is permeated with a conviction of the justice of his cause, a belief in the trustworthiness of his supernatural visitant. But the deed that is required of him is so repugnant to his nature that he snatches at any excuse for delay. Mr. Brooke is quite right when he says that "Hamlet is never more normal than at the end of his long soliloquy." Why shouldn't he be? He has not only gained time but excellently salved his conscience. (If Mr. Brooke's theory of the poet's purport in introducing the Pyrrhus-Priam incident were correct, Hamlet's mental condition ought to be normal at the beginning of his soliloquy, not at the end of it.) How desperately Hamlet casts about for a good excuse for delay is also indicated in his willingness to look upon himself as one afflicted with a "weakness and melancholy," evidently forgetting that he was mad only north-north-west and knew a hawk from a handsaw. To one acquainted with the unconscious workings of the mind this piling up of excuses speaks eloquently of a strong unconscious will against the contemplated deed. Professor Bradley rightly designates Hamlet's doubt about the true character of the Ghost as an "unconscious fiction," thus acquitting our hero of hypocrisy.

Hamlet is nowhere less the "keen and efficient thinker" than in his third soliloquy. Here as elsewhere he is more truly the creature of his passions, whims, and caprices than any other great Shakesperean character, King Lear only excepted. As soon as the actors are gone he falls into a paroxysm of railing at himself for

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inaction, nowithstanding the fact that he has just taken the first step toward really doing something. (This excessive self-reproach under these circumstances is, to the clinical psychologist, further proof of the insincerity of Hamlet's ostensible purpose.) Then, apparently ignorant of the fact that the actor's passion was wholly assumed and in no way indicative of his character, he lashes himself for not being like him. The "keen thinker" reviles himself for unpacking his heart with words and yet compares himself, to his disadvantage, with an actor whose business is nothing but words, and borrowed words at that. Had Hamlet really wished to do the deed required of him, he would have whetted his almost blunted purpose by taking example not from the hireling who recited the story but from the determined, ruthless, and single-motived Pyrrhus whose deed the poet chronicled in the stirring tale that had so impressed itself on his memory. This would have been a logical, simple, straight-forward Hamlet, whose words might be taken at "their full face value," but not Shakespere's Hamlet.

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THE RETURN TO NATURE IN ENGLISH POETRY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By C. A. Moore

Recent investigation has corrected the old idea that no appreciation of nature is to be found in the early part of the eighteenth century. Studies made by Miss Reynolds [1] and Dr. Havens [2] have shown that critics once exaggerated the differences between the age of Pope and that of his successors. In the early part of the eighteenth century "God's outdoor world" was not, as commentators once held, uniformly despised or neglected. What we once considered two distinct "schools" really shade into each other imperceptibly, and many individual writers defy strict classification. It is now evident that the "return to nature" — a reaction from classicism — began earlier than we formerly supposed, and developed more gradually. Like other changes in literature, it was an evolution rather than a revolution.

From another point of view, however, our investigation of the subject has been less satisfactory. The attempt of criticism to account for this growth of interest in nature, including uncultivated nature, has not yet gone beyond the traditional explanation that it came from the renewed study and imitation of earlier literary practice. The inadequacy of this supposition is generally recognized. The revival of such poets as Shakespeare, Milton, and Spenser, and the additional influence also of the few medieval writers who were actually known to English poets, leave still to be accounted for in the eighteenth century, and later, some of the most distinctive qualities in our poetry of nature.

In the first place, this explanation fails to account for the modern poetical interest in mountains. As all critics agree, the development of the feeling for nature in recent literature is to be gauged largely by the attitude towards the austere phases of it — winter, storms, deserts, seas, and especially mountains. Although the change of sentiment that brought these "deformities" into gen-

[1] Myra Reynolds, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909.

[2] R. D. Havens, "Romantic Aspects of the Age of Pope," *P. M. L. A.*, xx, 3 (September, 1912).

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eral favor was neither so late in point of time nor so sudden as early critics held, there evidently was such a change somewhere between the Restoration and the close of the eighteenth century. The striking fact is that this new literary fashion had never before been prevalent in any literature. Appreciation of the grand and rugged was virtually unknown to Greek and Roman writers.[3] Humboldt[4] and Biese[5] have discovered a few instances in out-of-the-way medieval prose; but the tendency was short-lived, because it was opposed by the Church, and no one will contend that these few obscure cases were known by English poets of the eighteenth century. In Scottish literature, one might naturally expect, on account of local scenery, to find such appreciation developed early; but Veitch states it as a "curious and puzzling" fact that "imaginative sympathy for the grand and powerful in nature — as mountain height and cataract, the foaming flood, the force of ocean, and the dark wind-swept wood as it sways in the storm" was very rare in Scottish letters before the closing years of the eighteenth century.[6] This modern note is absent also from our early English literature. Ruskin has pointed out the deficiency in Shakespeare.[7] In the same connection, Shairp says it is certain "that the power of mountains is not expressed in that poetry which expresses almost every other conceivable thing, and that the mountain rapture had to lie dumb for two more centuries before it found utterance in English song."[8] One or two exceptions in Milton's verse are apparent rather than real.[9] According to Perry, the first traces of the new spirit in English literature are to be found "towards the middle" of the eighteenth century. "Before that time," he adds, "we find mountains spoken of in terms of the severest reprobation."[10] Phelps discovered the first notable interest of the kind in Gray's

[3] See J. C. Shairp, *On Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, 1877, ch. IX, X; Alfred Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechern und Römern*, 1882; John Veitch, *The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry*, 2 vols., 1887, I, ch. III.

[4] *Kosmos*, ed. 1850, II, Part I, *passim*.

[5] *The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times* (tr.), 1905, ch. IV, V.

[6] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 6.

[7] *Modern Painters*: "Of Mountain Beauty."

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[10] T. S. Perry, *English Literature in the Eighteenth Century*, 1883, p. 145.

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comments on the Alps in his journal and letters of 1739.[11] The forward date set by most, if not all, of these statements is inaccurate; but the consensus of all investigation is that this liberal attitude began to be prominent in the first half of the eighteenth century,[12] and that it was virtually an innovation.

In the second place, the ordinary explanation fails equally to account for the modern habit of regarding nature as a great moral and spiritual force acting upon the life of man—another trait of our poetry that came into prominence between the Restoration and the time of Wordsworth. Like the affection for mountains, this sentiment is of distinctly modern growth. Again, the Middle Ages have yielded a few exceptions to the general statement;[13] but through the disapproval of the Church, the theory died in embryo, and the few who proclaimed it could have had no influence on those poets who fostered a similar doctrine in English literature.[14] There are intimations of it also in the writings of Henry Vaughan, who was impressed by the spiritual force of material things; but Vaughan's interpretation, hardly more than a hint of the full theory, is exceptional in English, just as a passage or two in the

[11] W. L. Phelps, *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, 1893 (see pp. 167-9).

[12] See Miss Reynolds, *op. cit.*, ch. I; Perry, *op. cit.*, ch. IV. Some additional evidence of Restoration dislike for the rugged in nature is to be found in the Duchess of Newcastle's *The Life of the First Duke of Newcastle* (1668), Everyman's, p. ix, and Grammont's *Memoirs*, Bohn's Library, pp. 193-9. The following passage from Mrs. Haywood's *Life's Progress through the Passions: or the Adventures of Natura* (1748) is an excellent illustration of the change in popular taste: "Whether you climb the craggy mountains or traverse the flowery vale; whether thick woods set limits to the sight, or the wild common yields unbounded prospect;—whether the ocean rolls in solemn state before you, or gentle streams run purling by your side, nature in all her different shapes delights. . . . The stupendous mountains of the Alps, after the plains and soft embowered recesses of Avignon, gave perhaps a no less delightful sensation to the mind of Natura." (Cited by G. F. Whicher, *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1915, p. 157, note.) See also *Gent. Mag.*, XX, p. 506 (1750) and XXI, pp. 211-3 (1751) and earlier examples cited below.

[13] Biese, *The Development*, etc., ch. V.

[14] As Biese points out, these Catholic mystics were very different from such later mystics as Jacob Behmen. Moreover, the influence of Behmen, although he was translated by William Law, was confined to a very small set of Englishmen, who were apart from the current of popular literature.

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sonnets of William of Hawthornden and a generally neglected passage in Charles Cotton's *The Retirement* are exceptions to seventeenth century inappreciation of mountains. Examples cited later will demonstrate that by the middle of the eighteenth century, on the contrary, this ethical and spiritual valuation of the physical world had become the rule in English poetry rather than the exception.

If, then, these two characteristics did not come from the imitation of earlier popular literature, did they originate with the modern poets themselves, or were they due to some influence which has been neglected in our study of literary origins? My contention is that both of them sprang originally from the common source of learned philosophy. Appreciation of the uncouth forms of nature and the worship of all nature are inseparable phases of a general movement. It is not a mere coincidence that the two developed contemporaneously. There had existed a traditional prejudice against the uninhabitable and inaccessible regions of the world, and the idea of beauty was seldom associated with them until this prejudice had been removed by a new conception of nature in general. To account for this change of feeling, we need to go beyond the borders of all popular literature; the source of it is to be found in certain philosophic conclusions first established by learned speculation in the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, and then popularized by poetical imitators.

By neglecting this source of influence, critics have given only a partial explanation of a literary evolution that can be explained in full. The "return to nature" in popular works, far from being the simple process of mere reversion implied by the phrase, represents a great variety of appreciation, some degrees of which were entirely new. The modern poetic conception is the composite result of many forces. In literature of the early eighteenth century it would be possible to distinguish among these with considerable precision. Some of them existed still in a detached and initial state. This was a formative period, when the various elements were beginning to coalesce into that rich interpretation of the natural world most familiar to us through the poetry of Wordsworth. To study these separate elements in detail, there would be required such elaborate classifications of the feeling for nature as those pro-

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posed by Shairp [15] and Veitch.[16] But for the present purpose of distinguishing between those characteristics that arose from earlier popular writers and those that were added through imitation of the learned philosophers, it is sufficient to group all the various modes of treatment under two inclusive heads — the descriptive and the synthetic.

The first class is characterized by the "simple and childish delight" which men in all ages have felt, in varying degrees, under the tonic influence of blue skies, budding flowers, green grass, and the other benign manifestations of the outdoor world — what Léon Morel characterizes in Chaucer as "une naïve et superficielle sensualité." [17] Literary treatment of this kind attempts only to reproduce in detail the sensuous or emotional effect occasioned by the individual thing contemplated; there is no reference to the system of nature as a vast, organic whole, and the degree of feeling expressed is comparatively slight. In this class fall practically all the illustrations of the "romantic revival" collected from the early eighteenth century. Miss Reynolds recognizes that in the early cases she has cited — roughly speaking, before 1725 — there is no attempt to interpret nature in terms of man's moral and spiritual life. The passages show only that the writers had grown weary of the descriptive formulas imitated from Vergil, Horace, and the other Latin poets, and were becoming restive under the restraint of the neo-classic rule. With the slight exception of Parnell's *Hymn to Contentment* (1722), of which I shall speak later, the entire list of illustrations emphasized by Miss Reynolds indicates that in the early stages of the "return" the only marked disposition was to be more truthful in reporting what men saw and heard. The additions made by Dr. Havens are of the same kind; the attitude of the writers is "unreflective," and nature is praised only for its picturesqueness.

These passages are far more numerous than was formerly supposed, and they are of great importance historically. But they represent only one element of the modern conception, and that not the most important. Denoting as they do merely a revolt from the negativeness of the neo-classic prescription, they are

[15] *Op. cit.*, ch. VIII: "Some of the Ways in which Poets Deal with Nature."
[16] *Op. cit.*, I, ch. I: "The Feeling for Nature—Its Various Forms."
[17] Léon Morel, *James Thomson, Sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1895, p. 359.

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what we might expect in any period of literature when the natural impulse is not repressed by an artificial code. In them we have actually a *return* to previous literary practice. The treatment accorded is fragmentary and superficial; of the universal system and spirit nothing is said. Consequently here, as in our still earlier literature, there is little incentive to extend the appreciation to nature as a whole. Even Allan Ramsay, responsive as he was to the charms of the outdoor world, was unaffected by the beauty of its "deformities." "Though brought up in a rugged part of Scotland," says Miss Reynolds, "he seems to have had none of the modern feeling for mountains." [18]

Under the second head — the synthetic treatment — I include collectively all the varied conceptions of nature which regard, not merely the sensuous beauty of the individual object or scene, but the ultimate significance of such parts considered as details or links of a universal system which is to be appraised rightly only in its completeness. The simplest and least poetic form of this theoretic valuation is the argumentative statement that every detail, however unlovely or even repulsive in itself, is to be defended as serving some indispensable function in the vast economy of the entire scheme. The highest and most poetic form is the assumption that all nature is an intimate revelation of God to man — a power for good, therefore, in its constant appeal to man's moral and spiritual faculties. Those who adopt this view recognize a divine spirit permeating and identifying all creation. Shairp's characterization is excellent: "The best and highest way in which Nature ministers to the soul and spirit of man is when it becomes to him a symbol translucent with the light of the moral and spiritual world." [19] This reverence may express itself in the doctrine of the Deity immanent in nature, or it may very easily, especially in poetry, take the form of a vague pantheism virtually identifying Creator and created. Evidently the utilitarian theory can have only an indirect value in the history of poetry; it is important only as preparing the way for something better. But the other conclusion is of the greatest importance, for it is one of the chief distinctions of recent poetry.

For this whole range of synthetic interpretation — the utilitarian and the more poetic form — popular literature is demon-

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

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strably indebted to the Augustan philosophers. In brief, it was through poetical imitators of these that English poetry acquired the various forms of defense and praise of the irregular and grand aspects of nature and likewise the apotheosis of nature in general.

Before undertaking to adduce evidence on the point, however, it is necessary to note an inevitable prejudice against this view. The body of learned philosophy to which I refer is designated as rationalism. The intimate appreciation of nature, especially the stern phases, is ordinarily catalogued as one of the distinctive marks of romanticism. According to the usual classification, *rationalism* and *romanticism* are irreconcilably opposed. Quite naturally, therefore, most accounts of popular literature which do not wholly ignore the existence of such philosophy actually represent all phases of the romantic movement as a revolt from its influence.[20] The ordinary view, stated or implied, is that the development of the feeling for nature was due, positively, to the reassertion of an earlier literary ideal, and, negatively, to a complete divorce of literature from the arid formulas of the rationalists. Speaking of the romantic movement as a whole, Professor Beers explains it as a reaction "against the rationalistic, prosaic, skeptical, commonsense spirit of the age, represented in England by deistical writers like Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Bolingbroke, and Tindal, in the department of religious and moral philosophy,"[21] etc. A later critic in the field, Dr. W. H. Durham, holds that "rationalism is another name for crude dogmatism."[22] He evidently applies the word rationalism to philosophy as well as to literary criticism, for he very prettily explains the deterioration of Charles Gildon in the following manner: "Once a Catholic, he became a Deist; once a critic, he became a criticaster. . . Certainly in both cases he substituted a barren and superficial rationalism for conceptions at once more fruitful and more profound."

The element of truth contained in such derogatory estimates of the rationalists has misled us into the natural error of over-

[20] See, however, W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry*, 1905, v, ch. x.

[21] H. A. Beers, *English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, 1910, p. 362. The same opinion is expressed in *Berkeley and Percival*, the *Nation*, C, 2586, 2587, Jan. 21 and 28, 1915; but the author, I am informed, has seen fit to modify his view.

[22] *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, 1915, p. xvii.

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generalizing, either by formal statement or by implication. Setting out with the complete antithesis authorized by the dictionary, we have assumed that it is valid also with reference to two schools of thought in all their historical ramifications, and hence to the individual writers composing those schools. The pitfalls of such a method are obvious. Since romanticism is used loosely to include many vaguely related notions, it is unwise to assume that these various aspects are reducible to any one general cause, or that, conversely, whatever clashes with the romantic ideal at one point opposes it at all others. The difficulty is enhanced also by the similar inclusiveness of the term rationalism. In some respects the line of cleavage is easily definable. In the treatment of nature it is not. Any broad statement that even implies a hard-and-fast demarcation of the kind falls into the old error of insisting too much upon final definition and the use of exclusive terms. This pigeon-hole method assumes a sharper historical conflict between the "pure reason" of the rationalists and the "imagination" of the romanticists than actually existed. The general supposition that the doctrine of reasonableness utterly precluded imaginative activity on the part of the individual thinker is, at least in all that relates to physical nature, unjust. The faulty conclusion arises partly from our virtual identification of the neo-classic view and the rationalistic. It must be remembered that rationalism was merely one of several ingredients composing the neo-classic prescription. The express inhibitions concerning nature came from the literary lawgivers rather than the philosophical. The philosophy of the rationalists, considered historically, was, I hold, not only unopposed to an intimate appreciation of the outdoor world, but was actually the chief agent in eventually forcing the minute study and love of nature as a whole upon popular attention.

A comparative study of learned and popular literature of the Augustan age will demonstrate: (1) that even the earliest and simplest phase of rationalistic theory — that which was inoffensive to the Church — contributed something to our poetic creed by offering an apology for those parts of creation which before had been condemned as "deformities"; (2) that the unorthodox length to which this speculative doctrine was carried by the "free thinkers," or Deists, was the main incentive to our positive love of the grand and rugged, and also to our apotheosis of nature as a

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whole. If romanticism may be taken in the popular interpretation of including our modern sympathy for all nature and a belief in its moral and spiritual associations with human life — such a creed as we find, for example, in Wordsworth, Byron, and Shelley — then Deism may be said to be the starting-point for our modern romantic treatment of nature.

I

Insistence on the beauty of universal nature was a necessity of rationalistic theory. The triumph of this philosophy in the seventeenth century was due to the fact that the Church, in order to maintain her prestige in a scientific age, was compelled to defend herself against a growing suspicion that the Christian dogma was incompatible with recent discoveries in natural science. In their endeavor to reconcile the two claims, the Christian apologists at the outset allowed almost equal weight to natural revelation and supernatural, holding that there is no real conflict between the two. In their deference to the evidence afforded by scientific knowledge all rationalists agreed up to the point of regarding the outward world a faithful record of the Creator's power and beneficence, a visible embodiment of Divine perfection. This argument from nature was soon developed so convincingly, however, that it threatened to render all other evidence of God superfluous, and thereby produced dissension in the Church as to how far it might be pursued. The extreme, or Deistic, view was that human reason requires no other revelation than the outward and visible world. Even those rationalists who still accepted the Bible held its utterances to be merely a confirmation of universal truths already set forth to the reason of man in the Book of Nature. The line between these two positions — the heretical and the orthodox — was not always clearly marked. But whether a given philosopher became a "free thinker" and denied the doctrine of supernatural revelation or whether he managed by compromise to maintain his standing in the Church, the difference was one, not of kind, but of degree. The beauty of the natural universe, as expounded by the new science, occupied the central position in all rationalistic speculation.

Evidently a universal system full of flaws could not meet the demands of such reasoning. From the first there was a tendency

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to hold nature perfect in every detail, and the necessity of doing so became gradually more evident. Such optimism, however, was confronted at once by traditional opposition. No difficulty was found in applying the theory to the serene and physically agreeable aspects of nature; the real problem was how to include the sterner phases, especially an angry sea or the jagged pinnacles of the mountain. The Calvinist looked upon these as imperfections due to original sin, and the earlier atheist as a proof that our world was not created by God. Whether or not either of these views was held by any considerable portion of English society, they were proclaimed with sufficient persistence to stimulate controversy and bring into sharp relief the issues of a long and spirited debate. They thus served to denote the chief point of attack upon which the "physico-theology" of the rationalists was to be directed throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

The case of extreme reprobation is set forth most nakedly by Thomas Burnet in *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (1681-9), which very curiously grafts the biblical doctrine of original sin upon what purports to be a scientific hypothesis. Burnet's theory of the antediluvian world was that it had consisted of a perfectly flat surface. In the goodly pristine state, the work of the Creator was not disfigured by ugly protuberances of rocks and mountains.[23] Such unsightly objects were the lasting monuments of the wrath which later moved God to alter the habitation of man. Puerile as this explanation is, Burnet's book was held in great esteem. Addison

[23] "In this smooth earth were the first Scenes of the World, and the first Generations of Mankind; it had the Beauty of Youth and blooming Nature, fresh and fruitful, and not a Wrinkle, Scar or Fracture in all its Body; no Rocks nor Mountains, no hollow caves, nor gaping Channels, but even and uniform all over." *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (Fourth ed. 2 vols., 1719-22, I, bk. I, ch. VI, pp. 90-1). It should be added, however, that Burnet was impressed by the majesty of the seas and mountains in spite of his theory. "The greatest objects of Nature are, methinks, the most pleasing to behold; and next to the great concave of the Heavens, and these boundless Regions where the Stars inhabit, there is nothing that I look upon with more pleasure than the wide sea and the Mountains of the Earth. There is something august and stately in the Air of these things, that inspires the Mind with great Thoughts and Passions; we do naturally, upon such occasions, think of God and his Greatness." (I, bk. I, ch. XI, p. 191.) For his full treatment of mountains, see vol. I, bk. I, ch. IV, V, VI, XI, especially XI.

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contributed a Latin ode to the edition of 1689. In *Spectator* No. 38 Steele recommended the "learned Dr. Burnet" and in No. 146 quoted a long extract approvingly. Thomas Warton spoke of Burnet as combining Milton's imagination with solid powers of understanding.[24] An English translation of his book, made by the author himself and dedicated to Queen Mary, was published the year the complete Latin version appeared (1689). By 1726 the English version had reached its sixth edition, and in the meantime Burnet's theory had been the occasion of much controversy.[25] The other argument — that of the atheists — was popularized chiefly by Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*. Lucretius's poem is little more than a versified *résumé* of Epicurus and other pagan atheists who saw in the physical as well as the moral imperfections of the world a negation of God and therefore resolved all nature into "a fortuitous concourse of atoms." Their objection to the world consisted largely in the repulsiveness of the same features condemned by Burnet, especially mountains. Both of these un-

[24] *Essay on Pope*, I, 115, 266.

[25] The extent of discussion is indicated by the following works: Herbert Crofts, Bishop of Hereford, *Some Animadversions upon . . . "The Theory of the Earth"* (1685); Erasmus Warren, *Geologia, or a Discourse concerning the Earth before the Deluge* and *Defence of the Discourse . . . . wherein the Form and Properties ascribed to it, in a Book entitled, The Theory of the Earth, etc., are excepted against* (1690); Thomas Burnet, *An Answer to the late Exceptions made by Mr. Erasmus Warren against "The Theory of the Earth"* (1690); John Beaumont, *Considerations on a Book entitled The Theory of the Earth* (1693), and *Postscript* to same (1694); John Keill, *An Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth* (1695); Robert St. Clair, *The Abyssinian Philosophy considered and refuted; or Telluris Theoria neither sacred nor agreeable to reason* (1697); S. P., Gent., *Six Philosophical Essays upon several subjects, viz. Dr. Burnet's Theory of Earth*, etc. (1699); Anonymous, *Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth; occasioned by a late Examination of it* (1699); Burnet's replies to Warren and Keill, appended to ed. 6 of the *Theory* (1726). For still other opponents, see John Ray, *The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of Creation* (1691) and *Three Physico-Theological Discourses concerning*, 1. *The primitive Chaos, and Creation of the world.* 2. *The general Deluge, its causes and effects.* 3. *The Dissolution of the World and future Conflagration; wherein are largely discoursed the production and rise of Mountains* (1692); John Woodward, *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth* (1695); William Whiston, *New Theory of the Earth* and *Vindication* of same (1696).

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favorable views of nature — the extreme orthodox and the atheistic — were opposed all the more vigorously because these were integral parts of two general systems that were opposed by rationalism on various other grounds.

The defense against such charges derived its main impetus from the Cambridge Platonists, in whose works English rationalism began to take definite form. The most influential of these was Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System* (1678); his philosophy had a marked effect on all subsequent speculation during the Augustan period. In Cudworth's assumptions is found at least the germ of all that was afterwards said by the champions of natural creation— both the orthodox rationalists and the Deists. The orthodox could not safely go beyond the argument of mere utility; quite naturally, therefore, this doctrine was the first to be perfected and to secure general adoption. However imperfect individual details of the natural world may appear, they were defended as serving some imperative purpose in the intricate economy of the universal plan. Cudworth appropriated this general statement from Greek philosophy, chiefly from the Platonists, and he used it only in opposition to atheism.[26] Later, however, it served equally well to refute all other doctrines that questioned the perfection of nature.

Those who challenged the theory of Burnet immediately applied this general thesis to the specific case of mountains. For example, John Keill, in 1695, charged Burnet with "presuming boldness" for asserting that "Mountains are placed in no order one with another, that can either respect use or beauty." Keill saw fit seriously to contest only the first point. "Notwithstanding this strange assertion," he says, "I am sure, if we were without these shapeless and ill figur'd old Rocks and Mountains, as he calls them, we should soon find the want of them. It being impossible to subsist or live without them. For setting aside the use they may have in the production of various Plants and Metals, which are useful to mankind, and make a part of the compleat whole, and the Food which they yield to several Animals, which are design'd by Nature to live upon them; *The high hills being a refuge for*

[26] *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, 3 vols., 1845, II, p. 590; III, pp. 466-528. Compare Locke, *Essay on Human Understanding*, bk. IV, ch. VI, sec. 11.

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the wild Goats, and the Rocks for the Conies . . . Without them it is certain we should have no rivers,"[27] etc.

A similar, but much more influential, statement of this apology was made by William King in *De Origine Mali* (1702), a book known in the original or in its English translation (1729) by most readers of the eighteenth century. In opposition to the ultra-Calvinistic theologians, King held the waste places of the globe, such as mountains and deserts, to be a part of the original scheme of things; in opposition to the atheists, he considered even these disagreeable aspects proofs of the Creating Mind. "God," he says, "has given those parts to the Brutes which were unfit for Man; and that there might be nothing useless, which yet could not be alter'd without detriment to the whole, he has adapted Animals to every Part and Region of it; and since the Habitation could not conveniently be converted into any other form, he provided such Animals as wanted, and were agreeable to the Habitations. Hence Mountains, Woods and Rocks give harbour to wild Beasts, the Sea to Fishes, the earth to Insects."

Archbishop King, however, obviously did not make out a strong case against the atheists, for they would have brushed aside both the habitation and its inhabitants as useless and ugly. By admitting that "the Habitation could not conveniently be converted into any other form," he actually made the Creator a workman subject to human limitations. God seemed to disguise one fault by committing another. King's translator, Edmund Law, from whose Chapter IV I have quoted,[28] attempted to supplement King's reasoning so as to bring it into complete harmony with Cudworth's general thesis. "Our Author's argument here might be convey'd," he thought, "much farther, and the Infinite Wisdom of the Creator Demonstrated, not only from his having made nothing in vain, or useless in *itself*, but also from the distinct and various relations which every thing bears to *others*, and its contribution to the good of the whole." Then follows in Law's note a passage that may be taken as a final statement of the utilitarian argument in defense of mountains. "Thus the Mountains mention'd

[27] *An Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth*, Oxford, 1698, pp. 54-5. Ch. III is devoted to mountains.

[28] William King, *An Essay on the Origin of Evil, Translated*, etc., by Edmund Law, third ed., 1739.

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in the Objection of *Lucretius,* and which many Moderns also have misrepresented as deformities of Nature, have not only their own peculiar Inhabitants, but also afford to other Animals the most commodious harbour and Maintenance, the best Remedies and Retreats. To them we owe the most pleasant Prospects, the most delicious Wines, the most curious Vegetables, the richest and most useful Metals, Minerals, and other fossils; and, what is more than all, a wholesome Air, and the convenience of navigable Rivers and Fountains."

This doctrine of usefulness soon found its way into the works of orthodox English poets, and it is practically the full measure of appreciation shown by the few who were tolerant of mountains during the reign of Anne. For example, John Philips, who found his native hills "not unamiable," was proceeding upon the expressed hypothesis that "naught is useless made"; hence, just as King had defended mountains as places of habitation and refuge for animals, the poet Philips justifies the existence of the "cloud-piercing hill Plinlimmon" because it yields "shrubby browze" to the goats.[29] Yalden's apology is similar.[30] He is consoled for the ugliness of the hills by the consideration that they are filled with precious metal. A still clearer example is the pious Sir Richard Blackmore's *Creation,* in seven books (1712). The avowed purpose of his "endless line" is to refute the atheistic argument of Lucretius and "the Lucretian tribe," especially their objection to the unsightliness and inconvenience due to mountains. In the Preface Blackmore disclaims any attempt at originality. Previously his argument has been stated, he says, in a manner "obscure, dry and disagreeable"; he himself will give it the advantages peculiar to poetry, and adapt it more to the general apprehension and capacity of mankind"—an undertaking in which he is encouraged by the belief that "the Epicurean philosophy had not lived so long, nor been so much esteemed, had it not been kept alive and propagated by the famous poem of Lucretius." The gist of Blackmore's opposition to Lucretius is contained in the following passage:

> You say "The hills, which high in air arise,
> Harbour in clouds, and mingle with the skies,
> The Earth's dishonour and encumbering load,

[29] *Cyder,* bk. I, 98 ff.

[30] *To Sir Humphrey Mackworth.*

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Of many spacious regions man defraud,
For beasts and birds of prey a desolate abode."
But can the objector no convenience find
In mountains, hills, and rocks, which gird and bind
The mighty frame, that else would be disjoin'd?
Do not those heaps the raging tide restrain,
And for the dome afford the marble vein?
Does not the river from the mountain flow,
And bring down riches to the vale below?
See how the torrent rolls the golden sand
From the high ridges to the flatter land.
The lofty lines abound with endless store
Of mineral treasure, and metallic ore;
With precious veins of silver, copper, tin,
Without how barren, yet how rich within!
They bear the pine, the oak and cedar yield,
To form the palace, and the navy build.[21]

This pragmatic argument, which contains slight nourishment for poetry, represents the first, or orthodox, stage of rationalism. The poetry written in imitation of it, though only apologetic and of no intrinsic worth, is of some value. Even this attitude was more promising than the earlier hostility to mountains. It served also as a stepping-stone to the poetic appreciation developed by the extreme rationalists, or Deists, who are to be considered next.

II

The poetic qualities of Deism were developed mainly by the Earl of Shaftesbury, the first English philosopher to realize at all fully the æsthetic possibilities of nature and natural law. His essays began appearing in 1699 and were collected as *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times,* etc., in 1711. The fullest treatment of nature is contained in *The Moralists: A Philosophical Rhapsody* (1709). Since his conception has had a profound effect upon subsequent literature, both learned and popular, it requires here a somewhat detailed examination.

Shaftesbury's rationalism took the heretical stand that the Deity has written himself out so plainly in the Book of Nature that further revelation would have been superfluous. On the dry

[21] Bk. III, 407-426. This is merely a brief summary of the elaborate treatment already made in bk. I. The same view is expressed in Haller's *Die Alpen* (1729).

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dialectics of his thesis he spends comparatively little time. Likewise, although King's utilitarian argument underlies all of Shaftesbury's reasoning, he makes little of it in his discussion. His main purpose is to illustrate in detail the matchless beauty and harmony inherent in all creation. This æsthetic purpose is manifest also in Cudworth, who in turn was indebted to the Platonic τὸ βέλτιστον: all that is implied by Cudworth's "plastic nature" as an emanation of the Deity is here fully developed by his pupil.[32] In a spirit that defied the prevailing horror of "enthusiasm" and a style of composition utterly disregarding the model of restraint set up by the prose-writers of his day, Shaftesbury's frequent rhapsodies exhibit every detail of nature as not only useful to some great end, but as supremely beautiful. He is a poet among philosophers. Montesquieu regarded him as one of the four great poets of the world.[33] In the "universal order and coherence of things," he found all he needed to know of God. "All Nature's wonders serve to excite and perfect this idea of their author. 'Tis here he suffers us to see, and even converse with him in a manner suitable to our frailty. How glorious it is to contemplate him in this noblest of his works apparent to us, the system of the bigger world."[34] The "anti-enthusiastic poet" Lucretius[35] stirred his profound contempt; for "'tis impossible," he said, "that such a divine order should be contemplated without ecstacy and rapture, since in the common subjects of science and the liberal arts, whatever is according to just harmony and proportion is so transporting to those who have any knowledge or practice in the kind."[36]

Such passages are scattered throughout his works. The most connected treatment of the subject is to be found in the well-

[32] For Shaftesbury's admiration of Cudworth, see *Characteristics*, ed. J. M. Robertson, 2 vols., New York, 1900 (to which all references below), II, pp. 50, 196, and Letter to Jean Le Clerc, March 6, 1705-6, in *Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen*, ed. Benjamin Rand, London, 1900, p. 352.

[33] *Pensées Diverses*, Œuv. Comp., Paris, 1838, p. 626.

[34] *Characteristics*, II, p. 112.

[35] *Ibid.*, II, p. 175. As a matter of fact, Lucretius was "enthusiastic" in spite of his theory (see J. C. Shairp, *op. cit.*, p. 145).

[36] *Ibid.*, I, p. 279.

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known apostrophe to Nature in the *Moralists*, the "enthusiasm" of which is indicated by this paragraph:

> O glorious Nature! supremely fair and good! All-loving and all-lovely, all-divine! Whose looks are so becoming and of such infinite grace; whose study brings such wisdom, and whose contemplation such delight; whose every single work affords an ampler scene, and is a nobler spectacle than all which ever art presented! O mighty Nature! wise substitute of Providence! impowered creatress! Or thou impowering Deity, supreme creator! Thee I invoke and thee alone adore. To thee this solitude, this place, these rural meditations are sacred; whilst thus inspired with harmony of thought . . . I sing of Nature's order in created beings, and celebrate the beauties which resolve in thee, the source and principle of all beauty and perfection.[87]

The full significance of such general statements can be understood only by reference to his system as a whole.[88] The "divine order" of which he speaks, anticipating not only the idea but the very phrasing of Wordsworth, is really the basic assumption upon which Shaftesbury erected his entire philosophy. The theological import I have already indicated; harmonious nature is the one record wherein man's reason may discern the character and purposes of God. This adoration of nature is still further increased by the æsthetic and ethical doctrine likewise rooted in his naturalistic theory. Setting aside all moral precepts and the doctrine of future reward and punishment, he held that the Good and the Beautiful are identical, that moral virtue is merely the perfect expression of æsthetic sensibility, and that such perfection is a "harmony of inward numbers" resonating to the perfect harmony of the physical world. The resolution of his system into these component parts makes it clear that the "union and coherence of things" is the sole basis of a philosophic scheme embracing theology, æsthetics, and ethics. This idea of the "sacred order" of nature removed, there would be nothing left of his entire speculation. In his view the worship of nature replaces the necessity of formal creed and is invested with a significance involving the supreme moral and spiritual needs of man. To follow Nature was literally to follow God.

Such a conception obviously does not preclude imagination.

[87] *Ibid.*, II, p. 98.

[88] See Alfred Sternbeck, *Shaftesbury über Natur, Gott und Religion*, Berlin, 1904.

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Some of the critics whom I have quoted imply that those who followed the doctrine of reasonableness to a denial of the miraculous surrendered with Christian "faith" their sense of mystery and yearning after the infinite. Instead, the "free thinkers" transferred their imaginative reverence from biblical legends of the supernatural to the equally great, but as they thought more credible, mysteries of the natural universe. Evidence of God was to be found, they claimed, not in the occasional suspension of natural law, but in its continuous and harmonious operation. Whatever the other results may have been, this change in theology meant at least a theoretic gain for the significance of nature. And in spite of their suspicion of the word *mystery* as applied to theology, Deists did not cut themselves off from an imaginative interest in the mysterious processes of nature. It is a habit of critics to speak of the rationalistic conception as if it were diametrically opposed to the romantic. They would have it appear that one school of writers rationalized all physical phenomena and another spiritualized them, the first set treating nature objectively and the second subjectively. Such terms and distinctions are valuable for the purposes of criticism, but they cannot be taken as a basis for rigid historical classification. Shaftesbury is a clear illustration of the fact that the so-called rationalistic and the imaginative conception exist side by side. Rather they are two successive steps of one interpretative process, the rationalistic conclusion serving as a basis of fact for the more imaginative and intensive statement. Although Shaftesbury arrived at his belief through a process of pure reason, to him nature was not merely the "objective and phenomenal" demonstration of the Creator, but was itself an emanation of the Deity; and although he actually accepted the doctrine of a personal God, his phrasing, in passages already cited and others to follow, constantly hovers on the verge of pure pantheism.[39] Nor would anything be gained by labeling the imaginative part of his theory as sentimentalism. A comparison of King and Shaftesbury will lead to a more reliable statement: the very thoroughness with which the Deist applied the doctrine of pure reason cut him off from the traditional creed and left him either to become a downright materialist or else to satisfy his spiritual

[39] This aspect of Deism was developed by John Toland in *Pantheisticon* (1705) — a work very offensive to the orthodox.

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nature in a highly poetic conception of the natural universe. In following the latter course he proposed a theory of nature which, I shall attempt to show, anticipated in its details much of what we call romanticism, both in material and in mood.

Theocles, who in Shaftesbury's *Moralists* represents the author himself, does not confine his enthusiasm to mere platitudes about the heavens and the other accepted beauties of nature. At times the praise may run into trite observations justifying Sir Leslie Stephen's phrases "empty declamation" and "old fashioned classical magniloquence."[40] Shaftesbury would have been most extraordinary if he had wholly avoided rhetoric of this kind at a time when Newton's discoveries were still recent and the Deists were using such scientific truths as a telling argument against the dogmatists. But there is much more in his apotheosis of nature. He exulted in phases of the natural world that had never become hackneyed subjects of art, or even subjects at all. Theocles avowed there is not a part of the entire "map of nature" unworthy of man's reverence. To establish his thesis, he descended from his contemplation of the heavens and conducted his pupil "through different climates, from pole to pole, and from the frigid to the torrid zone."[41]

The least enthusiastic part of this survey is the apology for the frozen North. Even here, however, Shaftesbury was an innovator. The description itself anticipates the work of the "Winter Poets," who arose about sixteen years later, and any defence of the rigors of winter was at the time of Shaftesbury's writing (1709) a catholic note hardly to be found in all the range of English literature.[42] The polar regions are, he admitted, "the darkest and most imperfect parts of our map"; but even here are found "the kind compensating gifts of heaven" and such strangeness of life as to force man "humbly to adore the greater composer."

In his comment upon the deserts of the earth there is a close approximation to the romantic affection for inanimate nature and also the lower animals. Of the places, he says: "All ghastly and hideous as they appear, they want not their peculiar beauties. The

[40] *History of English Thought*, 2 vols., 1902, II, pp. 437-8.

[41] *Characteristics*, II, pp. 119-20.

[42] See Veitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8; Miss Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, and notes.

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wildness pleases. We seem to live alone with Nature. We view her in her inmost recesses, and contemplate her with more delight in these original wilds than in the artificial labyrinths and feigned wildernesses of the palace." [43] It follows of necessity that this imaginative sympathy embraces all animal life as one part of the finely graduated system of nature. In this respect Shaftesbury was falling in with a tendency of the age to repudiate the Cartesian doctrine that animals are mere machines. In other essays he takes issue with Descartes,[44] condemns baitings and other forms of cruelty to animals,[45] and praises the humanitarian views in the essays of Montaigne.[46] In his application of this benevolent doctrine to the creatures of the desert he strikes a note of sympathy suggestive of Coleridge's moral in *The Ancient Mariner*. "The objects of the place," he declares, "the scaly serpents, the savage beasts, and poisonous insects, how terrible soever, or how contrary to human nature, are beauteous in themselves, and fit to raise our thoughts in admiration of that divine wisdom, so far superior to our short views." [47]

Still more significant is his attitude towards mountains. To many writers in his day and long afterwards they were "great ruins, the result of sin"; and at best they were subjects for apology. Theocles seeks the mountain top in the dawning, for he thinks the *genius loci* will "make us feel Divinity present in these solemn places of retreat." [48] Mountains are mentioned for repeated praise and are given the last word in the author's fervid apostrophe to all Nature. The very dangers of dizzy heights, sharp crags, and impending ledges are alluring. Even thoughtless men, "seized with the newness of such objects," are awakened from their moral lethargy. Such places may be horrible, but the horror is blended with a strange, religious pleasure. The vague melancholy of the later romanticist is clearly detected in the passage that follows:

> But, here, midway the mountain, a spacious border of thick wood harbours our wearied travellers, who are now come among the ever green and lofty pines, the firs, and noble cedars, whose towering heads seem endless in the sky, the rest of the trees appearing only as shrubs beside them. And

[43] *Characteristics*, II, p. 122.
[44] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 287, 315-6.
[45] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 120-1, 176.
[46] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 331-2.
[47] *Ibid.*, II, p. 122.
[48] *Ibid.*, II, p. 9.

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here a different horror seizes our sheltered travellers, when they see the day diminished by the deep shades of the vast wood, which, closing thick above, spreads darkness and eternal night below. The faint and gloomy light looks horrid [49] as the shade itself; and the profound stillness of these places imposes silence upon men, struck with the hoarse echoings of every sound within the spacious caverns of the wood. Here space astonishes; silence itself seems pregnant, whilst an unknown force works on the mind, and dubious objects move the wakeful sense. *Mysterious voices are either heard or fancied, and various forms of deity seem to present themselves and appear more manifest in these sacred silvan scenes, such as of old gave rise to temples, and favoured the religion of the ancient world. Even we ourselves, who in plain characters may read divinity from so many bright parts of the earth, choose rather these obscurer places to spell out that mysterious being, which to our weak eyes appears at best under a veil of cloud.*" [50]

Though published in 1709, do these passages not contain at least a hint of what Pater calls "an intimate consciousness of the expression of natural things, which weighs, listens, penetrates, where the earlier mind passed roughly by"? Here there is, to be sure, no finely-wrought description. But this is not to be expected: Shaftesbury was writing as a philosopher, and was therefore confined to general statement. It is the spirit of his interpretation that counts. It would be difficult — I think impossible — to find in any literature of his day utterances so nearly akin to the mood of Wordsworth. Instead of the humanistic love of solitude as merely a retreat favorable to examination and discipline of self, one finds much more frequently in Shaftesbury an express statement of Nature's spiritual power over man. Instead of being objects of hatred, mountains are the special dwelling place of the Great Spirit.

How far Shaftesbury's love of mountains had out-distanced the literary habits of his time can be clearly demonstrated. A more liberal conception was beginning, as I have shown, to creep into popular literature, but only in an apologetic form. Addison's appreciation was limited to a polite tolerance. "Mount Pausilypo makes," he says, "a beautiful prospect to those who pass by it"; "In sailing around Caprea we were entertained with many rude prospects of rocks and precipices," and the journey over the Ap-

[49] It has frequently been pointed out that the word *horrid* in eighteenth century literature is not derogatory.

[50] *Characteristics*, II, pp. 123-4. The italics are mine.

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penines was "very agreeably relieved by the variety of scenes we passed through." [51] Since Wordsworth proclaimed Lady Winchilsea's merit in 1815, she has been regarded as the one poet of Queen Anne's reign who reflected the spirit of nature. Her published work was contemporaneous with that of Shaftesbury. Imaginative as some of her description is, and far removed from the literary cant of the day, her appreciation is exceedingly limited in range. Her latest editor admits that Lady Winchilsea's imagination could not wholly escape the conventional impression of the sea, the storm, and the mountain.[52] To her, mountains meant something more than "huge, monstrous *excrescences* of nature"; but her tribute to them never went beyond the stilted apostrophe, "Ye native altars of the Earth." Pope's *Essay on Criticism,* published two years after the *Moralists,* makes only a doubtful concession:

> In prospects thus, some objects please our eyes,
> Which out of nature's common order rise,
> The shapeless rock, or hanging precipice.

The following passage from John Philips's *Cyder* (1708), Miss Reynolds considers "perhaps the earliest expression in the eighteenth century of that pleasure in high hills and wide prospects that were so marked a characteristic of later poetry." [53]

> Nor are the hills unamiable, whose tops
> To heaven aspire, affording prospects sweet
> To human ken.

The passage is unusual in popular literature; but, compared with the rhapsodies in the *Moralists,* the tribute is faint. The striking fact is that neither this nor any of the other passages cited from this period contains the spirit of actual worship. This is absent also from Lady Mary's praise of the Alps in 1716. She found the banks of the Danube merely picturesque — "charmingly diversified with woods, rocks, mountains covered with vines," etc.[54] Among the stock examples usually quoted we do not come across a spirit of "devout ecstacy" similar to Shaftesbury's until we reach

[51] *Remarks on Several parts of Italy* (written 1705). Cited by Dr. Havens, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[52] *The Poems of the Countess of Winchilsea,* ed. Myra Reynolds, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1903, pp. 122-123.

[53] *Treatment of Nature,* pp. 59-60.

[54] *Letters and Works,* ed. Lord Wharncliffe, I, p. 205.

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Gray's notes on the Alps. His letter to Richard West, November 16, 1739, contains this comment: "Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff, but is pregnant with religion and poetry. There are certain scenes that would awe an atheist into belief, without the help of other argument. One need not have a very fantastic imagination, to see spirits there at noonday." [55] This is clearly, I think, the strongest statement of Gray's impression. And yet this same theistic argument and poetical belief in mountain spirits had been anticipated thirty years earlier by one of the "rationalistic, prosaic, skeptical philosophers."

Shaftesbury himself realized that he was a pioneer. There is a prophetic note in the tribute which he has Philocles, the pupil, pay to his master, Theocles, the unfashionable worshipper of wild nature in the reign of Queen Anne: "Your genius, the genius of the place, and the Great Genius have at last prevailed. I shall no longer resist the passion growing in me for things of a natural kind, where neither art nor the conceit or caprice of man has spoiled their genuine order by breaking in upon that primitive state. Even the rude rocks, the mossy caverns, the irregular unwrought grottos and broken falls of water, with all the horrid graces of the wilderness itself, as representing Nature more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a magnificence beyond the formal mockery of princely gardens." [56] Philocles adds very pertinently, "But tell me, I entreat you, how comes it that, excepting a few philosophers of your sort, the only people who are enamoured in this way, and seek the woods, the rivers, or seashores, are your poor vulgar lovers?" [57] The reply of Theocles conveys in a few words an arraignment of Queen Anne taste that meets the situation squarely. "All those who are deep in this romantic way," he laments, "are looked upon, you know, as a people either plainly out of their wits, or overrun with melancholy or enthusiasm." [58] Shaftesbury was not unaware that he was promulgating an æsthetic view at variance with the literary creed of his time; he realized that as a genuine lover of the solitudes and mysteries of uncultivated nature he was guilty of a heresy in literature comparable to his heretical attitude towards theology, ethics, and "enthusi-

[55] *The Letters of Thomas Gray*, ed. D. C. Tovey, I, p. 44.
[56] *Characteristics*, II, p. 125.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*

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asm." To neglect him in a treatment of popular literature is wrongly to assume that his ideas were not adopted by popular writers, and to pit him against the romanticists is to pervert the actual facts.

Shaftesbury himself, however, was but a part of a general movement. His phrase "excepting a few philosophers of your sort" conveys a shrewd judgment of the whole matter considered historically. The reference is to the Deists, and the implication is sound. When once speculation had disentangled itself from the old theological creed that was suspicious of anything in its natural state, and had also disclaimed the doctrine of mere chance as a solution of life, it was committed to a theory of the universe leading straight to a love of all things natural for their intrinsic beauty. Another name for Deism, one used much more frequently at that time, was the Religion of Nature. It was not a misnomer. Primarily as the result of Deistical theory, all forms of nature — physical and moral — were given a more honorable place in European thought. Both King and Shaftesbury were greatly indebted to Cudworth's "plastic nature." Allowance made for personal accomplishments, such as style, Shaftesbury may be said to have surpassed King because his disavowal of the orthodox view was thorough, whereas King attempted to effect a compromise between natural and special revelation. They are typical of all contemporary philosophy. Rationalism as a whole was drifting away from the stern Calvinistic conception of God, man, and the world; but it was left to the heretical Deists to develop the doctrine of "natural revelation" into a form suitable for the purpose of poetry.

In Shaftesbury's essays this naturalistic philosophy reached the high-water mark in English speculation of the eighteenth century, and from him most of the popular writers drew. None of the other Deistic philosophers possessed the literary skill to rival him; their treatment of nature is at best an echo of his. Besides, most of them were fully occupied with the bitter controversy over fundamental points of theology, which Shaftesbury had assumed as a starting-point. Some, like his avowed champion Francis Hutcheson, were concerned primarily with the ethical doctrine of the *Characteristics*. The only other philosopher who calls for mention here is the orthodox Berkeley. He was violently opposed to Shaftesbury on various grounds, but his conception of nature, as intimated in *Alciphron*, Dialogue IV (1732), and *Siris* (1744), is drawn

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largely from Cudworth and the pagan philosophers whom both Cudworth and Shaftesbury imitated. Berkeley's example apparently had little or no effect on popular literature; it is important here only as an indication of the compromise gradually accepted by the orthodox when the controversy between the Church and the Deists began to subside.[59] A comparison of King and Berkeley would demonstrate to what extent the Christians, who for a time had been seriously discomfited by the extreme argument of natural revelation, were finally able to appropriate its most poetic results. Berkeley himself, however, did not develop this part of his philosophy — "the language or discourse of nature" — until most of his ideas had begun to appear in popular literature through poetical imitation of Deism.

Just as Blackmore and his like borrowed from the orthodox phase of rationalism, other English poets daringly appropriated the radical conclusions of the "free thinkers." In this way was derived the ethical and spiritual valuation of nature with which we are familiar in modern poetry, and which is far more distinctive of romanticism than is mere delineative description. That the full poetic possibilities of such a creed should be realized at once in popular literature was not to be expected; the new philosophy made its way gradually as it had done in learned writings. The parallel is seen also in that it is not wholly divorced from the unpoetic argument of utility. The belief in Nature's usefulness always underlies the more artistic conception, and, especially in the early stages of poetical treatment, is constantly cropping out. Strict classification of individual poems is, therefore, impracticable. The two ideas — utility and beauty — are frequently found side by side. Also in poetry as well as formal speculation, Nature may be presented both as a purely external and objective demonstration and as a symbol or even a part of the Deity. The various elements are confusingly intermingled. The full artistic possibilities were to be realized only after a long process of development during which the more poetic ideas were gradually abstracted and emphasized; but even from the first there are discernible certain elements of interpretation that foreshadow the perfected creed of Wordsworth.

[59] "Berkeley's Influence on Popular Literature: A Review of a Review," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XIV, 3 (July, 1915).

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The first signs of the Deistic view in popular literature of the eighteenth century are to be found in the work of Henry Needler (1690-1718).[60] Needler's productions have no intrinsic merit. Much of his philosophy also is confined within the safe limits of orthodox belief. Several of his poems are concerned with a set of theological ideas advocated by all the rationalists. In *A Vernal Hymn in Praise of the Creator,* he versifies the old attack on the atomic theory of *"Chance or Parent-Nature." A Poem in Blank Verse, Proving the Being of a God From the Works of Creation. And Some Brief Remarks on the Folly of Discontent* follows the lead of rationalism in general very closely, as will be seen from this extract:

> For what but an Eternal Mind, endu'd
> With utmost Reach of Wisdom exquisite,
> In Goodness and in Power praeeminent,
> Cou'd raise this stately pile; and, all its Parts,
> So visibly, in Order due, dispose;
> Cou'd spread this spacious Canopy, adorn'd
> With thousand glowing stars, that seem to shine
> With emulating lustre, and display
> Their bright Nocturnal Scene; cou'd clothe this Earth
> With grass; with forest crown the mountain-tops;
> With rivers grand, and murm'ring rivulets,
> Refresh the thirsty fields; that so the Whole
> To man a habitation might afford
> Commodious and delightful? How ingrate,
> And blind the Atheist! who denies the Pow'r
> Indulgent, that has made him, and bestow'd
> So many blessings on him undeserv'd!

To most of the ideas in these pieces the pious Sir Richard could have subscribed; but elsewhere Needler leans to a heresy which Blackmore had mentioned only for reprobation. And the difference between these two poets on this point serves admirably to define the new line of thought in popular literature due to the additional influence of Deism.

Blackmore had taken occasion to mark the boundary beyond which the theological argument from nature must not go. Pantheistic worship is as dangerous, he thought, as atheism. That he was here glancing at Shaftesbury is not improbable, especially since

[60] Apparently the date of the first ed. of his works is not known. The second came out in 1728.

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the Preface to *Creation* contains a long passage clearly aimed at *Wit and Humour*; but he referred the obnoxious doctrine of the pantheists to Spinoza and derisively summed it up as follows:

> **The lucid orbs, the earth, the air, the main,**
> **With every different being they contain,**
> **Are one prodigious aggregated God,**
> **Of whom each sand is part, each stone and clod;**
> **Supreme perfections in each insect shine,**
> **Each shrub is sacred, and each weed divine.**[61]

By condemning this very theory, however, Blackmore precludes all that is genuinely poetic in this whole field of speculation. The unmodified utilitarian view is too drily pragmatic for the purposes of art. The only justification of it is that for some of the other writers it served as a stepping-stone to the more æsthetic view which Blackmore deplored as heresy. Apparently the first of these was Needler, who derived his ideas from the *Characteristics*.

In a "Letter to Dr. Duncombe," dated December 3, 1711 (the year of the collected *Characteristics*), Needler thanked his correspondent for the "Philosophical Meditations of my Lord Shaftesbury" and composed a prose rhapsody in imitation of Shaftesbury's apostrophe. Beginning "Hail Sacred Solitude and Silence," Needler's thin song glorifies all Nature as a "Fair Copy of the Divine Ideas, and Image of the Deity!" The conclusion of the piece strikes a note which within a few years was to become general: "How vast a System then is the Universe! Profuse Beneficence! Luxuriant Bounty! . . . Thou minglest Thyself (as it were) with the Matter of the World; thy ever-active and Omniscient Power inspires the Whole; infusing Life and Motion into all its Parts." Although this passage contains a mere hint of Cudworth's "plastic nature" and the bold assumptions erected by Shaftesbury upon it, Needler's imitation, if published during the reign of Anne, would probably account for some of the few facts we have concerning his life. Cudworth's book was a storehouse for the "free thinkers," and therefore condemned by the orthodox, and Shaftesbury was more than once in danger of prosecution.[62] Needler's imitation of one or both seems to have brought him into similar disfavor. Apparently there are no copies of his first edi-

[61] Bk. III, 806-11.

[62] See *Regimen*, cited above, pp. 369, 371, 384, 400-2, 420-1.

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tion, he committed suicide, and Duncombe, the editor of his second edition (1728), was suspiciously anxious to vindicate the "extreme piety" of the poet.[63] His offense was aggravated by a prose essay *On the Beauty of the Universe,* where these opinions are set forth more elaborately. In the edition of 1728, published when the Church was no longer able to enforce her coercive policy, the publisher inserted an Advertisement that may have had the effect of stimulating some of the similar productions to be examined later: "The Essay on the Beauty of the Universe, tho' very just and rational, is but a sketch (as Mr. Needler himself owns) . . . I wish it may incite some able hand to treat more amply so useful and entertaining a Subject."

After reading Shaftesbury and Needler one is disposed to question the historical importance assigned by Miss Reynolds to Parnell's *Hymn to Contentment* (1722), which falls here chronologically. The following passage, praising the "Great Source of Nature," is typical:

> The sun, that walks his airy way,
> To light the world, and give the Day;
> The moon, that shines with borrowed light;
> The stars, that gild the gloomy night;
> The seas, that roll unnumber'd waves;
> The wood, that spreads its shady leaves;
> The field, whose ears conceal the grain,
> The yellow treasure of the plain;—
> All of these, and all I see,
> Should be sung, and sung by me:
> They speak their Maker as they can,
> But want, and ask, the tongue of man.

The poem as a whole Miss Reynolds finds "indeed remarkable": "for spirituality and insight, for what has well been called 'a sense of the thing behind the thing,' it was many years before it was paralleled."[64] In the list given by her it is exceptional. But does it contain any more "insight" than is to be found in the philosophy of Shaftesbury or in the works of Needler? The theory proposed is less bold and poetic than Needler's. These two writers died the same year (1718); Needler's first edition appeared before his death; and Parnell's poem was first published, by Pope,

[63] See Preface to second edition.
[64] *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

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in 1722. This chronology does not argue that Parnell ever heard of Needler; but it shows that Parnell's view was not anomalous in popular literature, and suggests that he himself was probably influenced by the philosophy expressly acknowledged by the more obscure poet. Parnell's ignorance of such speculative doctrine can hardly be supposed. It is at least probable that he found the story of *The Hermit* in the works of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More; his vicarage of Finglass was bestowed upon him by Archbishop King; and his association with Pope and other "free-thinkers" renders it likely that he was not unacquainted with some of the later and less orthodox rationalists.

It was not until after 1725, however, that these tendencies exhibited by Needler and Parnell became widely prevalent in English poetry. There then arose a philosophical school of writers most of whom were avowed Deists actuated by a well-defined theory. Their conception of nature is presented most fully in Thomson's *Seasons* (1726-30), Henry Baker's *The Universe* (1727), Henry Needler's works (second edition 1728), Henry Brooke's *Universal Beauty* (1728, 1735), Pope's *Essay on Man* (1732-4), Mark Akenside's *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744, revised edition 1757), John Gilbert Cooper's *The Power of Harmony* (1745), and James Harris's *Concord* (1751). Traces of it are to be found in much other poetry of the time, notably in the anonymous poems *On Design and Beauty* (1734), *Order* (1737), *Nature, A Poem* (1747), and *Poetic Essays, on Nature, Men and Morals* (1750), these being inferior imitations of better-known work. Collectively this body of verse represents a wide range of merit and considerable variation in details, but it is all inspired by the worship of cosmic nature as a unified and unexceptionably beautiful whole, the revelation of God to man. My contention is: first, that it sprang directly from Deistic speculation; secondly, that it forms a connecting-link between the formal theorists and the later poets usually designated as romanticists.

That this entire school was drawing inspiration directly from the earlier Deists I have argued in another article,[65] where I have discussed the same set of writers and considered also why Deistic belief was not popularized until late in the reign of George I. My

[65] "Shaftesbury and the Ethical Poets in England, 1700-1760," *P. M. L. A.*, XXXI, 2 (June, 1916).

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purpose there was to show that the popular ethical theme of "benevolence" in poetry of the second quarter of the century was due mainly to the widespread imitation of the *Characteristics,* at first by Deists only and later by poets in general. The same evidence is applicable in the present case. That those who versified Shaftesbury's theory of natural goodness should have admitted his reverence for external nature was an absolute necessity. None of the ethical poets who imitated him could have disregarded this phase of his teaching, for it is the basic principle of his entire system. The relative emphasis on the physical and the moral aspects varied with individual writers. Needler, his first avowed follower, and Herder, apparently the last, were interested most in the praise of natural objects. Other poets followed the example of the philosopher Hutcheson in putting the main emphasis upon ethics. But in all instances both phases are represented to some extent.

The evidence adduced in the earlier article includes the praise of Shaftesbury's style and philosophy by English and Continental writers, internal marks of resemblance, the testimony of contemporary critics, and the acknowledgment of the imitators themselves. I will here merely summarize that part of the evidence needed for the present purpose.[66] Among those who acknowledged their indebtedness to Shaftesbury are Thomson, Akenside, and John Gilbert Cooper. Thomson refers only to the ethical doctrine of the *Characteristics,* but his imitation of Shaftesbury's scheme of nature is not to be questioned. The underlying assumptions of the two writers are identical, each endeavoring to interpret the "harmonious whole" recorded in the Book of Nature. The Deistic tendency of the *Hymn* is so obvious that Lyttelton tried to screen Thomson's memory by omitting it from the collected edition of his works, and this part of Thomson's indebtedness is now pretty generally recognized. Herder thought the best notes of Thomson's muse had been caught from those of Theocles; a comparison of the *Moralists,* the *Hymn,* and Herder's own *Naturhymnus von Shaftesburi* (1800) will afford convincing proof that he was right. It is not improbable indeed that Thomson derived a hint for the entire framework of the *Seasons* from Theocles' general survey of the map of nature "through different climates, from pole to pole, and from the frigid

[66] References given in the article above are not repeated.

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to the torrid zone." [67] In that part of *Winter* describing the polar region,[68] though some of the details are based on Maupertuis,[69] there are resemblances also to Shaftesbury's description of the frozen North, especially in Thomson's concluding moral.[70] Akenside's imitation of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson is expressly acknowledged in the notes appended to *The Pleasures of the Imagination* by the author himself and commented on by several of his contemporaries.[71] He differs from the other poets of the Deistic school, except Cooper, in that he undertook to versify almost the entire *corpus* of Shaftesbury's speculation. He included, for example, the doctrine that the perfect harmony of Nature is the only revelation of the Deity required by a reasonable creature, a spirited attack on orthodox superstition, a defense of ridicule as a legitimate weapon in religious debate, and the æsthetic identification of the Good and the Beautiful. Like Akenside, Cooper refers to Shaftesbury and Hutcheson as his models. Harris, the author of *Concord,* was a nephew of Shaftesbury, to whom he had previously dedicated one of his works. Although Shaftesbury is not referred to in *Concord,* long sections of the poem are little more than transcripts from the *Characteristics.* The annotated editions of Pope's *Essay,* especially Elwin's and Mark Pattison's, prove unmistakably that he derived his interpretation of Nature from Shaftesbury and also Cudworth and King, as well as from Bolingbroke's instructions. J. M. Robertson considers the *Essay* "in large part pure Shaftesbury filtered through Bolingbroke." Brooke's source cannot be asserted so positively, but his poem is to be classed with the *Essay.* The Deism of the two poems is of the same tone; Pope passed judgment on *Universal Beauty* before it was published; and Book V, line 60 of Brooke's poem (1735) pays a tribute to Pope's. Baker's *The Universe* contains one passage evidently based on King's *De Origine Mali,*[72] and there are various resemblances to Shaftesbury.

[67] See above, p. 261.

[68] Ll. 886 ff.

[69] See Author's notes.

[70] Ll. 1008-23.

[71] For modern critics also, see Edmund Gosse, *A History of Eighteenth Century Literature,* 1891, p. 311; Sir Leslie Stephen, *A History of English Thought,* 1902, II, p. 365; W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry,* 1905, V, pp. 317-8.

[72] See King's *An Essay on the Origin of Evil,* tr. by Edmund Law, third ed., 1739, p. 216.

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These separate facts taken collectively mean that this whole body of versified philosophy was derived to some extent from Cudworth and King, but chiefly from the extreme doctrine and more engaging statement of Shaftesbury. It remains to be considered, then, what new elements this imitation contributed to the treatment of nature in poetry, and to what extent the details of this new conception anticipated the work of the so-called romanticists.

In the first place, interest in nature was greatly stimulated by the doctrine of the identity of Truth and Beauty. Through it æsthetic appreciation in general was made the distinguishing trait of the eighteenth-century gentleman. Not to be sensible of beauty was to be wanting in the chief article of the new and fashionable religion; and since the beauty of nature was the supreme beauty within man's experience, indifference to it was a mark of special depravity. In the poetry of Thomson there is no express statement that the Good and the Beautiful are one, but apparently the belief is in the background of Thomson's verse. Akenside states the doctrine in set terms. On the basis of his

> **For Truth and Good are one;**
> **And Beauty dwells in them, and they in her,**

Gosse called him "a sort of frozen Keats,"[73] and Miss Reynolds credited him with being "the first one to emphasize the platonic doctrine of the identity of truth and beauty."[74] Neither insisted, however, that this anticipation of Keats was a matter of mere imitation. Akenside himself refers his æsthetic notion to Shaftesbury and Hutcheson.[75] It runs throughout the *Characteristics*. The following statement is typical: "And thus, after all, the most natural beauty in the world is honesty and moral truth. For all beauty is truth."[76] The English origin of the doctrine was regularly ascribed to Shaftesbury, especially by his orthodox opponents. Quoting for the purpose of attack, John Balguy wrote (1730): "*All Beauty is Truth* says the penetrating author of the *Characteristics*."[77] Emphasis is to be placed, not only on Shaftesbury's responsibility for the English acceptance of this doctrine, but also on the fact that Akenside's poetical statement is not the solitary

[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 312.
[74] *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
[75] Author's note, bk. I, 374.
[76] *Characteristics*, I, p. 94.
[77] *Divine Rectitude*, 1730, p. 19.

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anticipation of Keats that some would have us think. The year after his poem appeared, Cooper's *The Power of Harmony* (1745), another imitation of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, developed the same idea in a much more elaborated form than Akenside's statement of it.[78] It is an organic part also of James Harris's *Concord* (1751), and is implied, if not expressed, by most of the poets under consideration.

In the actual treatment of nature, the first service of the Deistic poets was to popularize Shaftesbury's view that every aspect of nature is worthy of man's reverence. In some instances this plea rests largely on the orthodox argument of mere utility. Thomson challenges the atheists much as Blackmore had done:

> Let no presuming impious railer tax
> Creative Wisdom, as if aught was formed
> In vain, or not for admirable ends.[79]

Baker gives this argument a more detailed application:

> Here pause, and wonder!—then reflect again.
> Almighty Wisdom nothing makes in vain:
> The smallest Fly, the meanest Weed we find,
> From its Creation had some use assign'd,
> Essential to its Being, still the same,
> Co-equal, co-existent with its Frame.

In the passage that follows, Thomson's interpretation becomes less prosaic. He would spend the "winter glooms," he says, with "friends of pliant soul,"

> With them would search, if nature's boundless frame
> Was call'd late-rising from the void of night,
> Or sprung eternal from the Eternal Mind;
> Its life, its law, its progress, and its end.
> Hence larger prospects of the beauteous whole
> Would, gradual, open on our opening minds;
> And each diffusive harmony unite
> In full perfection to the astonish'd eye.[80]

To Brooke, every process of nature is a powerful revelation of the Deity:

[78] Bk. II, 330-343. In addition to Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, whom the author had already cited as his principal sources among the moderns, he here included in a special note Plato's *Dialogues*, Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and the French *Traité du Beau*.

[79] *Summer*, 318-320. [80] *Winter*, 575-582.

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> Like Nature's law no eloquence persuades,
> The mute harangue our ev'ry sense invades;
> Th' apparent precepts of the Eternal Will,
> His ev'ry work, and ev'ry object fill;
> Round with our eyes his revelation wheels,
> Our ev'ry touch his demonstration feels.[81]

Book II of Cooper's *The Power of Harmony* covers every phase of the argument which I have discussed in the treatment of the philosophers, including an attack on both the traditional view of the Calvinists and the atomic hypothesis. According to Cooper, when man is rightly attuned, he

> Looks thro' all
> The plan of Nature with congenial love,
> Where the great social link of mutual aid
> Through ev'ry being twines; where all conspire
> To form one system of eternal good,

and thus man learns to love and commune with all nature—from "the effulgent sun" to "the pale glow-worm in the midnight shade." [82]

Frequently the poetical form of this reverence is, like Shaftesbury's, virtually pantheistic. In Thomson we find

> O Nature! all-sufficient! over all! [83]

Of the seasons, he says:

> These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
> Are but the varied God. The rolling year
> Is full of Thee.[84]

The following apostrophe scarcely distinguishes between the Creator and His work:

> Inspiring God! who, boundless spirit all,
> And unremitting energy, pervades,
> Adjusts, sustains, and agitates the whole.
> He, ceaseless, works alone, and yet alone
> Seems not to work; with such perfection framed
> Is this complex, stupendous scheme of things.
> But, though concealed, to every purer eye
> The informing Author in His works appears.[85]

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[81] Bk. v, 23-28. For his argument against the atheists, see bk. II, 271-333, and the Author's long note on 271.

[82] Bk. II, 321-329.

[83] *Autumn*, 1351.

[84] *Hymn*.

[85] *Spring*, 853-860.

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Brooke's constant manner of address is

> Nature, bright effluence of the One Supreme! [86]

Pope's pantheism in the following well-known passage was one of the chief causes of Crousaz's attack:

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
> That, changed through all, and yet in all the same
> Great in the earth, as in the etherial frame
> Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
> Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent.[87]
> Science like this, important and Divine,
> The good man offers, *Reason*, at thy shrine;
> Sees *Thee, God, Nature* (well explain'd) the same;
> Not chang'd when thought on, varying but in name.

To give a practical application of this belief that the Deity is diffused throughout creation, Cooper devotes an entire book of his poem to "The Harmony of Nature" in its immediate effect upon the moral and spiritual life of man.[88] Probably, however, the most striking single statement of the new poetic creed is in the concluding lines of Akenside's *The Pleasures of the Imagination:*

> Thus the men
> Whom Nature's works can charm, with God himself
> Hold converse; grow familiar, day by day,
> With his conceptions, act upon his plan,
> And form to his, the relish of their souls.[89]

This paganistic assumption that Nature, when properly understood, is a complete revelation of the Creator is the basis upon which the modern romantic worship of nature arose. Even those early poets who did no more than proclaim this belief in dry terms of exposition were helping to popularize a theory that underlies

[86] *Universal Beauty*, bk. II, 261.

[87] *Essay on Man*, Ep. I, Sec. IX. In defending the passage, Warburton denies that Pope is a Spinozist, but admits his pantheism. *An Essay on Reason* (1735), by Pope's friend Walter Harte, affords an interesting parallel, although his poem was supposed to be thoroughly orthodox:

[88] *The Power of Harmony*, bk. II.

[89] Compare *The Prospect. A Poem*, 1735, published in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. XIII, p. 608, November, 1743.

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the best poetry of Wordsworth, his American imitator Bryant, Byron, and Shelley. Dr. Durham apparently regards defection from Christianity to Deism in the Augustan period as an inevitable loss of poetic vigor. I take the opposite view. There is more than a verbal connection between the Religion of Nature and the Poetry of Nature. The slightest exaggeration converts this new philosophic interpretation into the vague pantheism that manifests itself constantly in such poets as Wordsworth. Though probably none of the philosophers or poets actually substituted pantheism for a belief in a personal God, the poetical tendency to do so appears in Shaftesbury and his imitators just as it does in their successors. So far as mere thought is concerned, Wordsworth's *The Tables Turned* (1798), *Lines Written in Early Spring* (1798), and *Influence of Natural Objects* (1809) had been anticipated more or less exactly by all these philosophical poets. The following passage from *Tintern Abbey* (1798), often cited as typical of a new attitude, merely repeats what Cudworth meant by the "plastic life of nature" and what Shaftesbury and his poetical followers labored to express in detail:

> And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When Deistic poets had thus envisaged all nature, they necessarily followed Shaftesbury in his insistence that the "horrid" aspects of the world, as well as the softer features, are to be revered as parts of the divine harmony. They naturally preferred the uncultivated portions of the earth, where the evidence of the Creator is least obscured by the hand of art. Such appreciation is very different from the cautious apology used by the orthodox writers. If the Deistic poets had done no more than bring such "deformities" as deserts, storms, and mountains into special favor, they would have made a vast contribution to succeeding poetry. This new attitude is discernible even in Needler; among the proofs of the divine regimen he includes the forest-crowned

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mountains as spectacles of beauty.[90] Brooke explains the "all-teeming wed-lock" of nature as comprising

> The lowly sweetness of the flowry vale,
> The mount elate that rises in delight,
> The flying lawns that wanton from the sight,
> The florid theatres, romantic scenes,
> The steepy mountains, and luxurious plains,
> Delicious regions.[91]

The Pleasures of the Imagination includes within "the goodly frame" of nature the "sable clouds," the "flying storm," and the mountains.[92] Following Shaftesbury's identification of taste and morality, Cooper says the tasteful mind enjoys

> Alike the complicated charms which glow
> Thro' the wide landscape, where enamell'd meads,
> Unfruitful rocks, brown woods, and glittering streams,
> The daisy-laughing lawns, the verdant plains,
> And hanging mountains, strike at once the sight
> With varied pleasure.[93]

Elsewhere, after dwelling on the charms of the soft and agreeable aspects, he adds:

> Now change the scene,
> Nor less admire those things which view'd apart
> Uncouth appear, or horrid; ridges black
> Of shagged rocks, which hang tremendous o'er
> Some barren heath; the congregated clouds
> Which spread their sable skirts, and wait the wind
> To burst th' embosom'd storm; a leafless wood,
> A mould'ring ruin, lightning-blasted fields,
> Nay, e'en the seat where Desolation reigns
> In brownest horror, by familiar thought
> Connected to this universal frame,
> With equal beauty charms the tasteful soul,
> As the gold landscape of the happy isles
> Crown'd with Hesperian fruit; for Nature form'd
> One plan entire, and made each sep'rate scene
> Co-op'rate with the gen'ral force of all
> In that harmonious contrast.[94]

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[90] Quoted above, p. 268.

[91] *Universal Beauty*, bk. I, 133-9.

[92] Bk. II, 274 is not really an exception.

[93] Bk. II, 312-321.

[94] Bk. II, 124-140.

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This trait is particularly striking in the poetry of Thomson. In common with Shaftesbury, he liked especially to study the "obscure places of nature"—the gloom, the solitude, the melancholy remoteness of desert and mountain. Mountains appear throughout the *Seasons,* and in spite of Miss Reynolds's remark that "towards mountains and the sea Thomson held almost the traditional attitude,"[95] they are usually invested either with solitary grandeur or with a religious significance. I venture the assertion that by no English poet before Thomson are mountains referred to so often and so affectionately. In a spring landscape,

> the Cambrian mountains, like far clouds
> That skirt the blue horizon, dusky rise.[96]

In summer

> The dripping rock, the mountain's misty top,
> Swell on the sight, and brighten with the dawn.[97]

The most forlorn aspects of nature are ennobled by the return of the summer season:

> The precipice abrupt
> Projecting horror on the blackened flood,
> Softens at thy return. The desert joys,
> Wildly, through all his melancholy bounds.[98]

In the following passage Thomson's love of mountain solitude goes no deeper than a feeling of physical luxuriousness, such as Keats might express:

> Thrice-happy he, who on the sunless side
> Of a romantic mountain, forest-crowned,
> Beneath the whole collected shade reclines;
> And fresh bedewed with ever-spouting streams,
> Sits coolly calm; while all the world without,
> Unsatisfied and sick, tosses in noon.[99]

But usually, like Theocles, he seeks such spots because they are sacred to the best thought and deepest inspiration of the philosopher. Emerson's charge that "Thomson's *Seasons* . . . are simply enumerations by a person who felt the common sights and sounds, without any attempt to draw a moral or affix a mean-

[95] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.
[96] *Spring*, 961-2.
[97] *Summer*, 54-5
[98] *Ibid.*, 163-6.
[99] *Ibid.*, 458-63.

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ing"[100] is, as Morel observes, only Emerson's way of saying that Thomson was not a transcendentalist.[101] If any poet ever moralised his song and made all things subservient to "Divine Philosophy," it was Thomson: to quote Morel again, "il a quelque chose de la methode du savant qui reconnâit dans chaque phénomène un anneau d'une chaine."[102] This spiritual valuation of nature frequently betrays itself in his treatment of mountains, and in such passages, whatever we allow to Thomson's originality or his indebtedness to early poets, there are undoubted traces of Shaftesbury's special suggestion. Alone with nature Thomson feels

> A sacred terror, a serene delight.[103]

Shaftesbury thought the *genius loci* of the mountain would "make us feel divinity in these solemn places of retreat"; Thomson has the same kind of reverential feeling—

> Oh! talk of Him in solitary glooms,
> Where o'er the rock, the sacred waving pine
> Fills the brown shade with a religious awe.[104]

In mountain solitudes, Theocles hoped to "charm the genius of the place . . . to inspire us with a truer song of Nature"; the "various forms of deity" which he thought "more manifest in these sacred silvan scenes" address themselves to the poet in the following strain:

> Be not of us afraid,
> Poor kindred man! thy fellow-creatures, we
> From the same Parent-Power our beings drew;
> The same our Lord, and laws, and great pursuit.
> Once some of us, like thee, through stormy life,
> Toiled, tempest-beaten, ere we could attain
> This holy calm, this harmony of mind,
> Where purity and peace immingle charms.
> Then fear not us; but with responsive song,
> Amid these dim recesses, undisturbed
> By noisy folly and discordant vice,
> Of Nature sing with us, and Nature's God.
> Here frequent, at the visionary hour,
> When musing midnight reigns, or silent noon,
> Angelic harps are in full concert heard,

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[100] *Poetry and Imagination.* Cf. Sir Leslie Stephen, *op. cit.*, II, p. 362.
[101] *Op. cit.*, p. 360.
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] *Summer*, 541. See also 522 ff.
[104] *Hymn.*

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> And voices chanting from the wood-crowned hill,
> The deepening dale, or inmost sylvan glade;
> A privilege bestowed by us, alone,
> On contemplation, or the hallowed ear
> Of poet, swelling to seraphic strain.[105]

The appreciation of nature was extended also to the severities of climate and season. "In 1725, or shortly before, were written three poems on Winter," says Miss Reynolds in reference to Armstrong's *Winter* (published 1770), Riccaltoun's *A Winter's Day* (published 1726), and Thomson's *Winter* (published 1726).[106] All of these denote a broadening of sympathetic interest, and all of them were by Scotchmen, whose sympathy was due partly to local environment; but it is significant that the praise is strongest in the avowed Deists, and that such appreciation is wanting in Scottish literature before the rise of Deism. After the success of Thomson's poem the sentiment became common. Akenside's *On the Winter Solstice* (1740) states the philosophic attitude of all the "Winter Poets"—

> But let not man's unequal views
> Presume o'er Nature and her laws;
> 'Tis his, with grateful joy, to use
> The indulgence of the Sovereign Cause;
> Secure that health and beauty springs,
> Through this majestic frame of things,
> Beyond what he can reach to know;
> And that Heaven's all-subduing will,
> With good, the progeny of ill,
> Attempereth every state below.

Evidently, so far as praise of inanimate nature is concerned, little was left to the inventiveness of later poets except in the matter of phrasing and refinement upon details. The various characteristics I have so far noted are admirably summed up in a passage of Cooper's, which has a further claim to attention because it anticipates Wordsworth's theory of enjoyment through retrospection. The work of Memory, who acts as a handmaid to Art, is thus described:

> Thro' Nature's various paths,
> Alike, where glows the blossom'd pride of May,
> Or where bleak Winter from the widow'd shrubs

[105] *Summer*, 544-563.

[106] *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

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> **Strips the gay verdure, and invests the boughs**
> **With snowy horrour; where delicious streams**
> **Thro' flow'ry meadows seek their wanton course,**
> **Or where on Afric's unfrequented coasts**
> **The dreary desert burns; where e'er the ray**
> **Of beauty gilds the scene, or where the cloud**
> **Of horrour casts its shade; *she* unrestrain'd**
> **Explores, and in her faithful mirrour bears**
> **The sweet resemblance, to revive the soul,**
> **When absence from the sight forever tears**
> **The source of rapture.**[107]

This all-embracing sympathy with nature was made, of course, to include also the lower animals. It thus stimulated a humanitarian movement which probably owed its inception to oriental literature. That Shaftesbury's Deism contributed something is fairly evident from the fact that the movement in poetry was due largely to his imitators. Thomson's poetry, as I have shown in the article referred to above, is saturated with the sentiment, and the same doctrine is developed in the earlier verse of Needler. Baker's insistence upon the significance of the meanest objects led him into a similar strain of moralizing; in his tenderness for the very worms of the earth there is the spirit of Blake's *Book of Thel* and Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*. One passage of the kind has already been quoted from Cooper. Henry Brooke points the same moral, but in execrable phrase:

> **The flocks that nibble on the flowery lawn,**
> **The frisking lambkin, and the wanton fawn;**
> **The sight how grateful to the social soul,**
> **That thus imbibes the blessings of the whole;**
> **Joys in their joy, while each inspires his breast**
> **With blessings multiply'd from all the bless'd!** [108]

Now, whether we do or do not call this increased sympathy for nature romantic depends entirely upon our definition of romanticism, and for my purpose the use of the term is of little consequence. Certainly it was a new conception, far more catholic than any that had ever prevailed in English poetry and similar to the views expressed by later poets usually classified as romanticists. The supposition that it resulted from the renewed study and imitation of the elder poets clearly misses the fact. Earlier literature

[107] *The Power of Harmony*, bk. I, 214-227.
[108] *Universal Beauty*, bk. IV, 300-304.

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had shown little inclination to condone the asperities of nature or to embrace natural creation as a whole. Poetry of the eighteenth century represents more than a recrudescence of early sentiment. After the first quarter of the century, when the recent discoveries in science were becoming generally known and men were beginning to apprehend the marvelous intricacies of natural law, nature took on a larger significance. Whether literature gained or lost by the addition—and that it did for a time lose spontaneity, no one questions—there is this obvious distinction, that the new poetry was painstakingly illustrating an hypothesis. Its interest in nature, like all other rationalistic interests, presupposed the sanction of logic and scientific information. The appreciation of the earlier periods had been determined much less by scientific law and the philosophic arguments occasioned by it. The nightmare of the atomic theory had scarcely been known, and theology had had no occasion to recommend all nature as the reflex of the Deity; it had, in fact, opposed this view. Appreciation of natural objects had, therefore, been less sophisticated. The poet of the eighteenth century, on the contrary, was committed to a moralized interpretation of all natural phenomena as parts of a stupendous revelation of God, the beauty of which consists in its complex unity and its nice conformity to the laws of science. In early literature appreciation was partial; it now became universal. Poetry, in other words, was beginning to assimilate the results of the increased scientific learning which had given impetus to the entire train of rationalistic philosophy.

But, it may be objected, the very presence of this scientific element is what distinguishes such poetry from that of the romanticists, which is said to be dominated wholly by the imagination. This objection, however, is based upon mere definition rather than historical fact. Probably a romanticist ought, for our convenience, to avoid all intercourse with the discoveries of the scientist; but in actual practice those poets whom we call romantic do not. Our modern poetry of nature takes full cognizance of scientific discovery. Shairp has shown that there is no conflict between "poetic wonder" and "scientific," but that the real business of the poet is to find and express the poetic in all knowledge.[109] Such

[109] *Op. cit.*, ch. III: "Poetic and Scientific Wonder"; ch. IV: "Will Science Put Out Poetry?"

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an adaptation or fusion is essential, he thinks, to the very existence of poetry; like a religious creed, poetry that no longer responds to the accompanying state of human knowledge becomes impotent. Wordsworth recognized this law. "If," he declares, "the time should ever come when what is now called Science becomes familiarized to men, then the remotest discoveries of the chemist, the botanist, the mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the poet's art as any upon which it can be employed. He will be ready to follow the steps of the man of science, he will be at his side, carrying sensation into the midst of the objects of Science itself. The poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the being thus produced as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man." [110] In this process of transfiguration Wordsworth himself was a prominent teacher, and so were Tennyson and various other poets who wrote of nature in the nineteenth century. Science did not throttle their imagination but gave it a larger scope in the new material revealed by a profounder intelligence.

The philosophical poets of the eighteenth century,

> Led by the hand of Science and of Truth,[111]

were the pioneers in this movement. In the early stages of the assimilation the resulting product was frequently neither good science nor beautiful poetry. Much of this verse is exceedingly dry and seems to have little enough of the romantic. Its very faults are due largely to the philosophers who were imitated. Cudworth is uninspiring. King is invariably dry as dust. Much of the bad taste exhibited by Shaftesbury's followers may be traced to their model. Various passages in the *Characteristics,* for example, deal with the use of mineral treasures, "inglorious parts of nature in the nether world"; these and similar scientific touches are partly responsible for the pseudo-science that spoils much of Thomson and Akenside and still more of Brooke. Shaftesbury's treatment of nature is usually too general for artistic effect. Introduced for evidential purposes, it rivets the attention too closely upon the mechanism of his universe. In the poetical imitations, likewise, one con-

[110] Preface to *Lyrical Ballads.*

[111] *The Power of Harmony,* bk. II, 246. See also Akenside's *Hymn to Science.*

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stantly hears the creaking of this gigantic system; the method is so general and abstract that the modern reader, who is familiar with a much more poetic treatment of the subject, feels at times that the Deistic poets merely hypothecated nature as a text for a dry sermon. But this scientific habit is a fault quite natural to first efforts in this new field. Men were dealing with a universe newly revealed to human intelligence, and it is not surprising that at the outset the scientific facts were treated too literally and profusely while the spiritual truth was allowed to suffer by comparative brevity of treatment.

In spite of these amateurish faults in proportion, this Deistic verse, taken collectively, holds in solution the entire doctrine of the modern romantic school. Most of these poets were clumsy in their utterance; some of them used the couplet, which was ill-adapted to their purpose; and all of them were too fond of "nature's wide expanse." But if nature has any larger significance than mere sensuous delight, and if the full interpretation of nature requires the ardor of worship in addition to keen senses and deft phrasing, the imperfect work of the Deists is not to be despised. It represents the first stage in the evolution, a *disciplina arcani* through which English romanticism had to pass before the naïve and partial treatment found in our early literature could be replaced by that combination of descriptive excellence and philosophic thought which constitutes the distinctive quality in the modern romantic interpretation of nature.

III

The indebtedness of poetry to philosophy for these various contributions has not been recognized even in the work of Thomson and Akenside. In Thomson's case there is a tendency to look for his interpretation in merely descriptive passages. Few of these exhibit a high degree of imagination; they are characterized rather by conscientious realism.[112] But Thomson's contribution to the romantic ideal, and therefore his historical importance, are to be estimated largely, just as Wordsworth's are, by philosophical passages which express his conception of nature as a whole. Thomson's worship of nature is a religious feeling running throughout

[112] See W. A. Neilson, *The Essentials of Poetry*, 1912, pp. 138-142.

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the *Seasons*. Every scene described derives an added significance through the informing spirit arising from the poet's general conception of the outward and visible world as a revelation of the Deity. And to make a just estimate of this conception, we need to keep in mind two important considerations. In the first place, a study of Thomson must take equal account of the poets who preceded and those who followed him. Through such a comparison it becomes evident that he was the first English poet to express at all adequately the range and the intensity of our modern reverence for nature, and that largely through him and his English and Continental [113] imitators this phase of modern poetry came into general favor. In the second place, greater emphasis is to be placed on the relation of Thomson's religious views to his poetry. Sometimes he is cited as the first of the romanticists. It is recognized also that he is a Deist. But the two statements are never thoroughly co-ordinated. The truth is, Thomson was a forerunner of the romanticists in his treatment of nature because he was the first English poet to reflect at all fully the romantic tendencies inherent in Deism.

In dealing with Akenside, critics have not failed to mention him also as an early romanticist; but they have refused to see that his romanticism is the direct result of his imitation of the Deistic philosophers. Miss Reynolds [114] finds in *The Pleasures of the Imagination* the same "sacred order" of the universe and its spiritual effect which Wordsworth employs in *The Excursion*.[115] Again, she remarks that both *The Pleasures of the Imagination* [116] and the *Hymn to the Naiads* [117] lay "a Wordsworthian emphasis on the effect of nature on the soul of a child." [118] On the basis of these and other analogies, she concludes with surprise that "in the middle of the century we find a statement of poetical creed which, so far as the thought is concerned, might have come from 'The Excursion' or 'The Prelude.'" But, unfortunately for a

[113] See, for example, Haller's *Die Alpen* (1729) and Brockes's *Irdische Vergnugen in Gott* (1721-), both of which were influenced by Thomson. Note, too, how the ideas of utility and beauty are combined.

[114] For discussion of Akenside, see *op. cit.*, pp. 123-127.

[115] Bk. IV, 1198-1219, 1254-1265.

[116] Bk. IV, 38-51 (1770).

[117] Ll. 234-249.

[118] As found in *Prelude*, bk. I, 402.

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full understanding of the origin and historical development of this romantic theory which she traces, she did not observe that Akenside derived his "Wordsworthian conceptions" directly from the *Characteristics*. The whole matter of the poet's indebtedness she conveniently dismisses with the passing remark that *The Pleasures of the Imagination* "is a smooth, correct, rather frigid exposition of certain philosophical principles." To ignore Shaftesbury's responsibility for this poetic creed is to stop short of the real source of a very important literary doctrine.

When we turn from Thomson and Akenside to the other members of the school, we find criticism still less inclined to recognize the full truth. In order to extol Akenside, Miss Reynolds makes an assertion which precludes a just estimate of all the other poets of this group. Akenside, she says, is "one of the first of the poets of the age to insist on the beauty of all Nature." Certainly the philosophers and the poets I have discussed make it clear that there was nothing unusual in his emphasis "on the beauty of all Nature." This had been a commonplace of learned philosophy from the time of Cudworth's *True Intellectual System* (1678); it underlies the dry reasoning of King; it is the mainspring of Shaftesbury's teaching; and it informs Berkeley's "language or discourse of nature." "Plastic nature," "the chain of being," "universal beauty," and their various implications had been treated also in popular literature—by writers ranging in merit from Needler to Thomson. The "sacred order" of which Miss Reynolds makes a good deal in Akenside and Wordsworth is the fundamental assumption of such theory: Shaftesbury's "universal order and coherence of things," or "sacred order," is the prevailing topic of every Deistic poet discussed in this paper. Of the peculiar merits which she assigns to Akenside, the effect of nature on the plastic mind of the child is the only anticipation of nineteenth-century romanticists in which he was exceptional. In other words, if Akenside was an early romanticist, so were the other eighteenth-century poets of the Deistic school.

I insist chiefly, however, on the greater fault of those who habitually misrepresent the Deists as opposing and obstructing the so-called romantic attitude towards nature. Critics who do so restrict their view to advanced evolutional stages of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In their anxiety to define roman-

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ticism of the nineteenth century by contrast, they use the earlier period as a mere foil, overlooking the fact that the contrast is substantially one of diction, poetic form, descriptive skill, and other literary refinements rather than a contrast of actual interpretation. Such method ignores an early and important phase of a broad historical movement that brought into popular favor an interpretation of nature involving the rationalistic and the romantic views in a complementary relation. Had there been a long interval between the first and the second step of the process, less apology would be needed for the constant insistence on the incompatibility of the rational and the imaginative interpretation. But early in the Deistic movement, as I have shown, this association was clearly perceived and stated. The conclusion reached by pure reason served at once as an authoritative basis of fact for a more poetic conception of the natural universe than had ever before been at all common in any literature. That a writer was rational did not mean that he had laid by his imagination. "To state one argument is not necessarily to be deaf to all others, and that a man has written a book of travels in Montenegro, is no reason why he should never have been to Richmond." From Cudworth's "plastic nature" to Wordsworth's pantheism the development of the modern estimate of nature is consecutive.

To obtain a true historical perspective, we should compare the treatment of nature in English literature before the triumph of rationalism and afterwards. It will thus become clear that our modern sympathy for universal nature is largely an outgrowth of this philosophy. Even tolerance of mountains and other irregularities of the natural world was exceptional before the orthodox form of rationalism had begun its attack on ancient prejudices, and the apotheosis of nature as a moral and spiritual force came into our popular literature only after rationalism had passed beyond the limits sanctioned by the Church. The modern cult of nature-worship is in its origin, then, unorthodox—the result of a revived pagan philosophy enriched by the discoveries of modern science. There are in the Bible, of course, many passages pointing in the same direction and glowing with Eastern fervor; but the Church itself discouraged the pursuit of such ideas. Jealously guarding the doctrine of supernatural revelation and scenting danger in naturalism, the Fathers discountenanced any interpre-

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tation of nature approaching the fullness of modern worship. There is ample evidence to confirm Biese's remark that "to Judaism and Christianity, Nature was a fallen angel, separated as far as possible from her God."[119] It is true that early Christian literature is notable for its interest in natural scenery, that a few medieval writers showed considerable appreciation of their native Alps, and that Catholic mystics were beginning in the Middle Ages to realize the possibilities of natural revelation. But their enthusiasm was soon checked. Such appreciation clearly demonstrated that the study of nature for religious and moral purposes is likely to end in conflict with the Christian dogma. Interest of the kind, especially when associated with science, was reproved by the Councils, and in the end effectually interdicted as a heresy.[120] The Anglican Church was no more liberal than the Roman Catholic, but through rationalism, which was invoked as a defense of her position, she was ironically betrayed into assumptions that afterwards threatened the complete overthrow of orthodox theology. When this insidious danger was completely unmasked, the English Church turned upon Deism the same anathemas that had formerly silenced the Catholic mystics. Again, the reproach of heresy was used. But for various reasons—partly because the new Religion of Nature was authorized by a fuller understanding of natural law than the earlier worship of nature had been—the outcome was different. For a time the full fruition of Deistic theory was delayed, but in the end the heretics were powerful enough to defy ecclesiastical authority. The final result of the fight between Deism and Christianity was a compromise which liberalized English thought in various ways. With the exception of independent ethics, the most important of the additions contributed by Deism is this liberal and enthusiastic appraisal of nature. Like the ethics of Deism, this too has gradually outgrown the taint of heresy and been generally accepted, at least for the purposes of poetry. The theological heresy of a former age has become the poetic creed of our own.

Unavoidably I have made the change in theology and the resulting ideas in poetry appear somewhat more sudden than it really was. English Deism actually began to take form as early as the

[119] *The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages*, etc., p. 22.

[120] See *Kosmos*, ed. 1850, II, Part I.

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fifteenth century in the writings of Reginald Pecock; but his fate was a warning to others. There were similar intimations of the new creed in the popular literature of England before the eighteenth century. Reference has already been made to some of these. Undoubtedly a thorough examination would reveal a considerable number of precursors like Vaughan, especially in the period following the Renaissance, when English thought came under the influence of Greek philosophy. But these doctrines first crystallized into a complete system in the works of the Augustan rationalists, and the historical continuity of similar ideas in popular writings dates from the imitation of this school of philosophy by Deistic poets.

Trinity College, N. C.

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THE TURFAN FRAGMENTS ON THE CRUCIFIXION (DÂRÔBADAGÊFTIG)[1]

By Herbert Cushing Tolman

The Turfan manuscripts of which the *dârôbadagêftig* forms a part were found in Chinese-Turkestan by the Grünwedel-le Coq expedition and published by F. W. K. Müller under the title *Handschriftenreste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan.* Professor Müller presented these in a report to the Royal Prussian Academy at Berlin in 1904 (*Sitzungsberichte der königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 348-352; *Anhang zu Abhandlungen d. kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. W.,* 1-117) and later they have been discussed philologically by Bartholomae, Andreas, and others. The manuscripts are sumptuously written, many of them with ornate initials and with red, yellow, green and blue superscriptions.

These remains are of great value, not only for philological reasons in that they throw a great light on the Iranian vocabulary, but for historical and religious considerations as well. They do nothing less than restore to us the lost literature of Manichaeus, or Mânî, as his name appears in the native documents. Before this discovery many erroneous notions were entertained respecting his teaching, but the remains show his religion to be a composite system drawn from the leading religions of the East. In this sense he was the founder of a powerful organization which influenced Christianity even as late as the twelfth century. It seems that he invested himself with a divine character, associating his name with the highest ascriptions of praise; for example, "Glory, honor to

[1] A paper read before the Philological Club by the Southern Exchange Lecturer for 1916-17.

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Lord Mânî; Holy Jesus (*Kâdôs Yîšô'*) release (*hêrzâ*) my sins! God, Lord Mânî (*bag mârî Mânî*) redeem (*bôž*) my spirit!"

The difficulties of interpretation are increased by the fact that the script is Estrangelo, which is an early form of Syriac writing and very inadequately adapted to the nature of the language for which it was never designed. It is only the etymological interpretation of a written form which enables us to discover what should be the correct transliteration and meaning. The system of representing the vowels is especially complicated. A single olaph is now used to represent the *ā* in the middle of a word, and again a double olaph is employed for the same purpose. At the end of a line the scribe would multiply this symbol to fill space in order to avoid dividing a word; for example, *kâmâââân*, which shows a succession of five olaphs. At the beginning of the word where we should expect two olaphs to indicate *ā*, we find often the single letter; for example, *'ab* ("water"), Anc. Pers, *āp*, New Pers. *āb*; *'adûr* ("fire"), Av. *ātar*, New Pers. *āδar*. Yudh and vau represent not only *y* and *w*, but long and short *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*. It often becomes a matter of very delicate discrimination whether to transliterate by *i* or *e*, *u* or *o*; e. g. *'ôšân* (read by Müller) should be transliterated *'ûšân*, "and by them."

I first made a philological study of this newly discovered material in the preparation of my *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, where I cited Turfan readings which threw special illumination on the vocabulary of the old language, but it is not to the philological side that I call special attention in this paper; it is rather to the religious significance of the fragments relating to the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ. These fragments contain what I have regarded (*Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* Vol. XXXIX) as an echo of *urchristliche Ueberlieferung* from an Aramaic source. There is no doubt that a genuine Aramaism appears in the Middle Persian phrase *pad 'êv Šambat*, "on one of the Sabbath," i. e., on the first day of the week, which is wrongly translated by Bartholomae "an einem Sabbatstag." The transference of the Aramaic idiom into the Middle Persian is all the more significant when we remember that the anachronistic phrase "On the Lord's day" was in vogue at the time of the apocryphal writings; e. g., Gospel of Peter, v. 35. Almost equally striking is the Aramaic form of proper names, *Mašihâ*, "Messiah," and *Šalôm* for "Salome."

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The only traces of Greek influence are seen in the word *'istratiyôtân,* which is plainly a loan word from the Greek στρατιῶται.

The expression meaning "They will crucify," *qarênd dârôbadag,* gives further evidence of the antiquity and ignominy of this form of punishment, since it is almost the exact equivalent of the phrase which Darius uses in the Behistan Inscription to describe the execution of pretenders to the throne.

I believe that four words of these remains may give us the missing answer of our Lord to Pilate. In John 18. 38 the Roman procurator asks this all-important question: "What is truth?" It seems strange that Jesus should allow the question, whether asked in sincerity or in jest, to pass unanswered, yet our canonical Gospels give no reply. To the exposition and exemplification of truth Jesus had given his life and he was now to seal the revelation with His death. It was the supreme psychological moment for such a definition and its every word would be freighted with the transcendent significance of this solemn hour. Fragment 18, which contains the phrase in question, plainly points to a scene before Pilate. We cannot doubt that these words furnish a most fitting answer to the searching inquiry. *Râstêft* (Anc. Pers. *rasta,* "true") *Bagpûhar* (Anc. Pers. *baga,* "God"—*puθra,* "son") *'ast* (Anc. Pers. *asti,* "is"), "Truth is the Son of God." If we are correct in our belief that we have restored the missing answer, Jesus plainly implies that truth is incarnate in Him, the Son of God. He points to His own person as the living embodiment of truth, in the same spirit as He declared, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." Of course, it is hard to understand what meaning *Bagpûḥar,* "Son of God," would convey to the mind of a Roman. A similar expression was used by the Roman centurion in Matthew 27. 54, as he beheld the dying agony of Christ.

We find some points of agreement between these fragments and the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, but not enough to justify us in supposing that they are derived from a common source. In both the Turfan fragments and the Petrine Gospel, Pilate disclaims responsibility after the Crucifixion, not at the time of the trial, as represented in Matthew 27. 34. Furthermore, the procurator issues a command to the centurion and soldiers to keep the order secret. The Gospel of Peter reads "They all came and begged him and besought him to command the centurion and the soldiers not to tell what they had seen, 'for it is better for us,' they say, 'to be

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convicted of this greatest sin before God and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned.' Pilate then commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing."

Such agreement is remarkable, but we are not to infer on that account that the tradition of the Turfan fragments is as late as that of the Petrine Gospel. In the latter we meet numerous anachronisms, which reveal its post-apostolic compilation; e. g.. verse 13, "Savior of the World" spoken by one of the thieves; v. 35, "And on the night when the Lord's day was dawning." It is very remarkable that in the Turfan material we discover no such anachronisms. The day of the Resurrection is designated *'êv Šambat,* literally, "one of the Sabbath," the Sabbath being used in the sense of week (Leviticus, 23. 15) as in Matthew 28. 1 *μίαν σαββάτων* which corresponds to the Hebrew בְּשַׁבָּת אֶחָד

Let us arrange the lines of the fragments according to the probable sequence of events.

The mocking of Jesus at the house of Caiaphas, the investiture with the purple robe and crown of thorns, the smiting of His cheeks and the spitting on His eyes. The canonical Gospels record the mocking of Christ by the Roman soldiers at the pretorium and Luke adds a similar scene before Herod. Here, however, we are reading of insults before the Jews as shown in their taunting cries *šaḥrdâr Mašîhâ,* "our King, Messiah." The Aramaic source of the tradition is illustrated again by the employment of *Mašîhâ* for Χριστέ. "A purple robe—crown of thorns placed on his head—with a staff they smite his cheek—they spit on the sockets of his eyes (*paṭ ḥô cašm padîšt vafên*[*d*]) and call out 'Our King, Messiah.'"

Pilate asks Christ "Art thou a king?" and Jesus replies, *Kum šaḥrdârêft nê 'aj 'îm šaḥr,* "My kingship is not of this world."

Although the Gospels record the presence of Herod in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion, several modern scholars have felt inclined to regard the sending of Christ to Herod as an interpolation. It is interesting to note that the tradition of the Turfan fragments strengthens the Gospel narrative; *basṭ . . . 'ô Hêrôdôs šâh,* "He was led bound to King Herod."

Pilate after the Crucifixion utters his declaration of innocence in respect to the blood of Christ which in the Gospel tradition is spoken at the trial, but in the Gospel of Peter, v. 46, is uttered after the Crucifixion; *'ût Pîlatîs vî'avard kû 'az vanûh 'aj 'îm Bag-*

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pûḥar gôkhan 'abêyâd 'aḥêm, "And Pilate replied, 'I am indeed without part in the blood of this Son of God.'"

Pilate orders strict secrecy; *qatriyônân vâ 'istratiyôtân 'aj Pîlatîs framân 'ôh padgrîft kû 'îm râz 'andarz darêd,* "As for the centurion and soldiers a command from Pilate was received for them to the effect that they keep the order secret."

On the morning of the Resurrection at the song of birds the women visit the tomb, two of whom are specified, Mary Salome and Mary, and they bring nard. The Aramaic tradition is seen again in *Šalôm* for Salome; *pad 'êv šambat pad mûrgvâg sar 'agad Maryam Šalôm Maryam 'ad 'abârig vas žanîn 'ûšân bôdâcâr vakhš nêrd 'âvard,* "On the first day of the week at the beginning of the song of birds (compare Matthew, "as it began to dawn"; Luke, "at deep dawn"; John, "while yet dark"; Mark, "when the sun was risen") came Mary Salome and Mary with many other women and by them was brought a fragrant herb nard."

A new woman figures in the group, Arsaniah, who is with Mary when two angels appear; *jê qêrd Maryam Šalôm 'ûṭ 'Arsanî'âh kad dô frêštag 'ô ḥovin pûrsênd kû mâ zîvandag 'ad mûrdagân vakhâzêd,* "How Mary Salome and Arsaniah did when two angels spake to them, saying, 'Seek not the living with the dead.'"

The women recall the words of Jesus relating to His death. In the Behistan Inscriptions Darius in several places speaks of the execution of rebels and invariably uses the same phrase, *uzmayâpatiy akunavam,* "I put them on the cross": *uzmayâ* is locative + postpositive *patiy*. The Turfan fragments in the expression for the Crucifixion of Christ use almost the identical words, *dârô,* New Pers. *dār,* "wood," being substituted for *uzma*. To this is joined the suffix *bad* < Anc. Pers. *patiy*. This forms the word *dârôbadag* and the verb which is employed in connection with it is *qarênd* < Anc. Pers. *kar. Yîšô 'sakhôn 'abyâd dârêd jê paṭ Galîlâh 'ô 'ašmâh vî'afrâšt kûm 'abispârênd 'ûṭ qarênd dârôbadag ḥridîg rôj 'aj mûrdân 'akhêzân,* "Hold in remembrance the words of Jesus how in Galilee he taught you, 'they will give me over and put me on the cross, but the third day I shall rise from the dead.'"

Angels seem to utter the command of Jesus to go to Galilee and inform Peter. "At sunset (*paṭ nîdfâr*) go to Galilee and make known to Simon and . . . the others, *šâvêd 'ô Galîlâh 'ûṭ 'azd qarêd 'ô Šimon 'ûṭ . . . ['a]bârîg.*"

Vanderbilt University.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE ROMAN DICTATORSHIP

By Clinton Walker Keyes

It has been generally assumed that the dictatorship was in theory a temporary revival of the absolute and concentrated power of the kingship, to be used only in emergencies when the divided and conflicting imperium of the consuls would endanger the safety of the state. Mommsen proposed an entirely different theory.[1] Although admitting that a dictatorship amounted *practically* to a revival of the royal power, he maintained that in theory the office was only a part of the consulship, the dictator being added to the constitution as a *collega maior* of the consuls. That is, the imperium of dictator, consul and praetor was of exactly the same character, each of these officers having the right to act independently, but the consul's power being greater than the praetor's, and the dictator's greater than the consul's. In considering these theories the analogy between the kingship and the dictatorship does not seem very important in itself; the really significant question is whether the imperium of the dictator is of exactly the same kind as the consul's, but greater, or of an entirely different character. The solution of this problem depends on the question of the status of the consuls during a dictatorship. If they retained and exercised their full powers, then we must conclude that Mommsen is right in calling the dictator their *collega maior*. But if they lost their imperium during a dictatorship,—if the dictator's imperium took the place of theirs, then a dictatorship was really a temporary return to the kingship,—a substitution of an emergency government for the ordinary Republican constitution.

The defenders of both these theories have used the evidence in regard to the dictatorship at different periods of its history indiscriminately. But as I believe that the constitutional position of the dictatorship underwent a distinct change between the early period of the Republic and the Second Punic War, which marks the end of the true Republican dictatorship, I must consider the character of the office in the different periods separately.

[1] *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 3rd Edition, II, 1, pp. 153 ff.

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Let us first glance at the dictatorship in its final period, when the detailed accounts of the historians allow us to see its status clearly. It is obvious that during the dictatorships of the latter half of the third century B. C. the consuls did not lose their imperium. They continued their independent activities as a matter of course after the appointment of a dictator, unless they received orders from him. The dictator does not appear to have the power of an absolute monarch at all; he refers questions of policy to the Senate just as the consuls do, and abides by its decision.[2] The consuls usually hold independent commands, and often a dictator seems to have been appointed not so much in order to provide a supreme commander-in-chief as simply to increase the available number of holders of the imperium. In this period, in fact, there can be no doubt that the imperium of the dictator is of the same character as that of the consul and praetor, and that he is simply their *collega maior*. In one case, indeed, Livy actually mentions the *maius imperium* of the dictator.[3]

But when we come to the early Republic we find evidence which seems to be contradictory. The Greek writers Polybius, Dionysius, Plutarch and Appian agree that the consuls lost their imperium during a dictatorship. Two of the most important passages are as follows:

Polybius III, 67, 8: Οὗτος [the dictator] δ' ἔστιν αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς οὗ κατασταθέντος παραχρῆμα διαλύεσθαι συμβαίνει πάσας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ πλὴν τῶν δημάρχων.

Dionysius V, 70 (describing the appointment of the first dictator): ἡ βουλὴ ἔκρινε τὴν μὲν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνελεῖν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, ἑτέραν δέ τινα ἀρχὴν ἀποδεῖξαι πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου πράγματος κυρίαν . . . . χρόνου δ' εἶναι μέτρον τῇ νέᾳ ἀρχῇ μῆνας ἕξ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑξάμηνον αὖθις ἄρχειν τοὺς ὑπάτους . . . . ἦν δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα τοιόν δε· Λάρκιον μὲν καὶ Κλοίλιον τοὺς τότε ὑπατεύοντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀρχήν τινα εἶχεν ἢ πραγμάτων τινῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείαν· ἕνα δ' ἄνδρα, ὃν ἂν ἥ τε βουλὴ προέληται καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, τὴν ἁπάντων ἐξουσίαν

[2] Liv. XXII, 11, 1; XXIII, 24, 1.

[3] XXX, 24, 3 (a. 203): *dictator ad id ipsum creatus P. Sulpicius pro iure maioris imperii consulem in Italiam revocavit.*

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παραλαβόντα ἄρχειν μὴ πλείονα χρόνον ἑξαμήνου, κρείττονα ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα τῶν ὑπάτων.[4]

It is to be noticed that the statements of these Greek authors do not indicate merely that the suspension of all other executive offices during a dictatorship had been the custom in early times, but also that this was still the case in the final period of the dictatorship. In fact, Polybius' description of the dictatorship which I have quoted above is given in connection with the appointment of Fabius Maximus as dictator in the Second Punic War. We have already seen that the account they give is not correct for this late period. And even in regard to the early period their testimony is contradicted by several passages from Livy. He tells us, for instance, that in 494, when a dictator was appointed and ten legions levied against the Volsci, Aequi and Sabines, four were commanded by the dictator, and three given to each of the consuls.[5] There are several other cases scattered through Livy's narrative in which consuls are represented as holding independent commands during a dictatorship,[6] and once a clear indication is given that he considers the relation of dictator to consul as one of *maius imperium* in this period also.[7]

Therefore Mommsen, basing his theory on the testimony of Livy, has decided that the evidence of the Greek authors is entirely untrustworthy. A surprising mistake on the part of Polybius, he thinks, led Dionysius, Plutarch and Appian astray on this point, as no Roman writer shares their view.[8] But it can only be because Mommsen is so thoroughly convinced of the correctness of his own theory, that he rejects this important evidence so summarily. Polybius is our most trustworthy source of information in regard to the early Roman Republic. Besides, it does not seem at all probable that Dionysius and Appian were using him as a source in

[4] Cf. also Dionysius v, 72; xi, 20; Appian, *Bell. Hannib*, 12; 16; Plutarch, *Camill.* 5; *Anton.* 8; *Quaest. Rom.* 81.

[5] ii, 30, 7.

[6] iv, 27, 2 (a. 431); vii, 11, 8 (a. 360); viii, 29, 11 (a. 235), etc.

[7] viii, 32, 3 (a. 325): *tum dictator: "quaero," inquit, "de te, Q. Fabi, cum summum imperium dictatoris sit, pareantque ei consules, regia potestas, praetores, . . . aequum censeas necne magistrum equitum dicto audientem esse?"*

[8] *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 3rd Edition, ii, 1, p. 155, n. 4.

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the passages referred to above. And although no Roman writer expresses the same idea by a definite statement, it is easy to find indications that this tradition did exist among the Romans. Cicero's "law" regarding the dictatorship (representing the actual practise of the early Republic as he understood it) is as follows (Teubner text): *Ast quando bellum gravius, discordiae civium escunt, oenus ne amplius sex menses, si senatus creverit, idem iuris quod duo consules teneto, isque ave sinistra dictus populi magister esto, equitatumque qui regat habeto pari iure cum eo quicumque erit iuris disceptator; reliqui magistratus ne sunto.*[9]

The last clause would prove Cicero's complete agreement with Polybius, but unfortunately this is not the manuscript reading. These words were transposed by Huschke from the following paragraph to improve the sense, but it is quite possible that they may refer to the *interregnum*, and not to the dictatorship at all. But the words *idem iuris quod duo consules teneto* seem to point in the same direction.[10] The reasonable interpretation of this clause seems to be that the dictator is to receive the same power as is ordinarily held by the two consuls, and thus is to take their place in the government. What can it mean if the consuls are to retain their full powers? And Cicero expresses the same idea still more clearly in the *De Republica:*[11] *Gravioribus vero bellis etiam sine collega omne imperium nostri penes singulos esse voluerunt.* The use of the words *omne imperium* instead of *summum* or *maximum imperium*, and the expression *sine collega* seem to prove that Cicero's idea of the early Republican dictatorship agreed with that of Polybius, Dionysius, Plutarch and Appian.

Another interesting piece of evidence on this point can be obtained by the comparison of Appian's and Livy's accounts of the treatment of the consul Servilius by the dictator Fabius Maximus in 217 B. C. Appian's statement is: Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ Σερουίλιον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ὡς οὔτε ὕπατον οὔτε στρατηγὸν ἔτι ὄντα δικτάτορος ἠρημένου.[12] It is improbable that Appian is here following Polybius, as stated above. This part of his narrative differs in details from that of Polybius, and it is now generally

[9] *De Legibus*, III, 3, 9.
[10] For Mommsen's comment on this, see *op. cit.*, p. 155, n. 3.
[11] I, 40, 63.
[12] *Bell. Hannib.*, 12.

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believed that some Roman annalist was his source. But, on the other hand, we know that, in the period referred to, there were consuls and praetors during a dictatorship, and that this statement, if true at all, can be applicable only to a much earlier time. Livy,[13] in relating the Servilius incident, tells us that Fabius sent a messenger to Servilius ordering him to appear before him without his lictors.[14] It seems probable that the actual facts were that Fabius found it necessary for some reason to assert his authority over Servilius in an emphatic manner, and that in doing so he appealed to an old half-forgotten law which denied the existence of any other imperium during a dictatorship.

Even in Livy's narrative we find several indications of the idea that such a state of affairs existed in the early period. The dictator Cincinnatus in B. C. 458 is represented as ordering a consul to resign his office, but to remain in command of his army as the dictator's *legatus;*[15] and in B. C. 402 one of the military tribunes with consular power threatens to appoint a dictator, who, as he says, can force his colleagues to resign their offices.[16] Of course a consul had no such power as this over a praetor, so that here we have a clear indication of a tradition that the legal relation of the dictator to the consul had been quite different from that of the consul to the praetor.

The following passage, if it is to be taken literally, may be of significance also: *senatus, finire imperium consulibus cupiens, dictatorem adversus rebellantes Latinos dici iussit.*[17] And, if an argument from silence is permissible, the fact that in a great majority of cases in Levy's narrative of the early period, no activities on the part of the consuls during a dictatorship, either as independent executives, or as the dictator's subordinates, are recorded, would seem to add to the probability that they lost their official power in such cases. It is certainly clear that Livy's total

[13] XXII, 11, 5. Cf. Plutarch, *Fab.* 4.

[14] Even such an order, of course, would not be given by a consul to a praetor. Mommsen's explanation (*Röm. Staatsrecht*, 3rd Edition, I, p. 378, n. 3) is quite insufficient.

[15] Liv. III, 29, 2. Cf. IV, 32, 9 (a. 426), where T. Quinctius Pennus, who before the dictatorship was *tribunus militum consulari potestate*, is simply called *legatus*.

[16] Livy V, 9, 6.

[17] Livy VIII, 12, 12 (a. 339).

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evidence on this point is not entirely in favor of either side of the question. Of course, in his narrative of the early period, the detailed statements from which evidence on both sides has been drawn cannot be considered as parts of a narrative of actual events. They have value chiefly as showing opinion of Livy, or rather of his sources, on the status of the dictatorship in the early times. Evidently two contradictory opinions have been woven into the narrative. Which of these opinions, then, has the better claim to be considered as based on a real tradition handed down from the period under consideration? Livy's sources were annalists of the period of the Second Punic War and a little later. What is more natural than that these annalists should have interpreted the narrative of the early dictatorships by the light of their knowledge of the status of the office in their own time? On the other hand, the indications of the opposite point of view which appear in Livy's narrative can only be explained by supposing that they originated in a really ancient tradition, which was also the source of the statements of the Greek writers and of Cicero.

We must next consider whether the supposition that the dictator took the place of the other executive officers of the state agrees with our other information about the office and about the governmental system of the early Republic. Our knowledge of the origin of the dictatorship has recently been increased by the researches of A. Rosenberg, who has made it very clear that the office came into the Roman constitution from other Italian cities.[18] In Alba and Caere the period of the kingship was followed by one in which the city was governed by a single magistrate, the dictator, having the absolute powers of the king, but holding office for one year only. This idea of the use of the royal power in a republic was evidently adopted in a still more modified form by the Romans as an occasional emergency measure only, the term being limited to six months. This being the case, it is much more reasonable to think of this emergency constitution as being substituted for the regular constitution of the state, which was temporarily suspended, than of its being added to or amalgamated with the usual govern-

[18] *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 71 ff. The evidence in favor of W. Soltau's interesting theory in regard to the nature of the early dictatorship does not seem sufficient to be convincing. See *Hermes* 49 (1914), pp. 352-368.

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ment. In this early period, of course, Rome was a small city-state for which two executive officers, the consuls, were quite sufficient. When an emergency arose which made the use of a single executive with absolute power desirable, the government was handed over to the dictator, who appointed an inferior colleague entirely subject to his orders, the *magister equitum*. The dictator had the same right as the consuls to appoint a *praefectus urbi* [19] with executive powers in the province "domi" when his own presence was required, as was usually the case, in the more important sphere, "militiae." Such a temporary arrangement evidently provides completely for the government of the early Roman state; we have just seen that a similar dictatorship was the regular and permanent government of some of Rome's neighboring cities. Thus it seems obvious that there could have been no place for the consuls in this emergency government.

It remains to be considered why and how the change from this state of affairs to the situation at the time of the Second Punic War took place. It seems clear that such a change was absolutely necessary if the dictatorship was to continue in existence after Rome ceased to be a small city-state. As the extent of Roman territory increased, the number of executive officers was multiplied, and just as two consuls became insufficient for the government of the state in ordinary times, so the dictator alone could no longer exercise all the powers of government in a time of emergency. He had the right to appoint as many *legati* as he wished to assist him, and the regular consuls of the year would seem to have been the natural persons to appoint to such positions in many cases. But as the state continued to grow it may have seemed desirable to go farther than this. As the consuls' loss of imperium during a dictatorship was only temporary, and it was restored to them without formality upon the resignation of the dictator, it may have seemed expedient for the dictator to allow the consuls and other magistrates to continue to exercise their normal powers, subject to his orders, just as if they did actually retain their imperium. In order to disturb governmental affairs as little as possible, it may gradually

[19] Cf. Liv. VIII, 36, 1, where an account is given of such an appointment when other magistrates seem to have been present in the city. Mommsen's explanation is insufficient. (See *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 3rd Edition, I, p. 665, n. 3.)

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have become the custom for the dictator to issue, immediately after his appointment, an edict providing that the consuls, praetors and other executive officers should exercise their powers as usual until further orders. The existence of such a state of affairs would explain the case mentioned above, in which, according to Livy, a dictator forced a consul to resign his office. The dictator would then merely be depriving the consul of the powers which he had voluntarily granted to him.

When this custom became fully established as a precedent, it is easy to see how it came to be taken for granted in every case, and how the dictator became what he was in the time of the second Punic War, simply a *collega maior* of the consuls. Thus the gradual development of the dictator from the position of an absolute ruler, whose power took the place of that of all the regular executive officers, into a magistrate who was merely superimposed upon the existing constitution, is seen to have been a necessary consequence of the growth of the Roman state.

The University of North Carolina.

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POLYPTOTON IN THE HEXAMETERS OF OVID, LUCRETIUS, AND VERGIL

By Elizabeth Breazeale

The present study was undertaken as a supplement to a recent paper by Professor Howe entitled *A Type of Verbal Repetition in Ovid's Elegy.*[1] The original plan was to examine Ovid's hexameter verse with a view to determining whether the particular form of repetition was in any sense peculiar to the elegy or was a common characteristic of all the poet's work. When this had been done, it seemed desirable to further extend the examination to the hexameters of Lucretius and Vergil in order to institute a comparison beyond the limits of the poetry of Ovid.

The type of repetition under consideration is that which involves an inflectional change in the word or words repeated,[2] and the line, not the sentence, is the unit examined. In the case of elegy the use of repetition is not the same for the two lines of the couplet; in hexameter verse, of course, there is no opportunity for such variation.

Professor Howe distinguishes two general categories, the simple and the complex. The simple repetition is the occurrence within the line of one word in two different forms; the complex is the occurrence of three words each in two different forms, of one word in three different forms, or of two words each in two different forms. We are concerned with the same two categories, and inquiry will be made as to the following topics: the frequency of the occurrence of the form of repetition in general, the frequency of the occurrence of each category with special attention to the matter of word arrangement in the complex form, the nature of the words repeated including a study of each poet's range of vocabulary, and the positions occupied by the words which form the repe-

[1] *Studies in Philology*, XIII (1916), 81.

[2] Consideration is not made of those instances in which there is change of root, as *parvus, minimus*, or *ferre, latus*. Pronouns and forms of the verb *esse*, even when there is no variation in root, are excluded also because of the necessity of their occurrence in great frequency and because, being without coloring, they cannot perform the function of repetition—the producing of emotional emphasis.

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tition—both the relative positions of the two members of the repetition and their positions in relation to certain loci within the line.

Ovid uses polyptoton [3] much more frequently than does either Lucretius or Vergil. The 11,996 lines of the *Metamorphoses* afford 333 instances, that is, an average of one in thirty-six lines. The 7,415 lines of the *De Rerum Natura* afford 184 instances, or an average of one in forty lines. The 9,896 lines of the *Aeneid* [4] afford 118 instances, or an average of one in eighty-four lines. The statement of frequency in terms of averages does not fairly represent the facts, since it leaves out of consideration the distribution of the instances. In Ovid, for example, certain passages contain within the limits of a few lines a large number of occurrences while others afford no examples at all in several pages. This is true to a smaller extent of Lucretius also. But in the case of Vergil the occurrences are not only so much rarer but are also so much more widely distributed that they would seem to be accidental rather than intentional.

Of the two main types defined above, the simple and the complex, the former, capable by its very nature of being handled with greater facility and requiring much less space, is by far the most frequent in Ovid, Lucretius, and Vergil alike. Only 28, or 8 per cent., of the 333 instances in the *Metamorphoses* are complex; of the 184 instances in the *De Rerum Natura* 10, or 5 per cent., are complex; and of the 118 instances in the *Aeneid* 6, or 5 per cent., are complex.

The type of complex repetition consisting of three words each once repeated is of course extremely rare. In fact, it appears only in the *Metamorphoses,* and there in but two instances:

> Hic vidisse deus, videt hic deus omnia primus (*M.* iv 172).
> Carmina digna dea; certe dea carmine digna est (*M.* v 345).

Lucretius and Ovid both afford examples of a single word appearing in three forms:

[3] The term polyptoton is here employed to include inflectional change of verbs as well as of nouns and adjectives, although the common definition of the figure takes account only of the latter. So Volkmann in *Müller's Handb. d. klass. Altertumsw.*, II, 3, p. 44, defines polyptoton as "eine Wiederholung desselben Wortes in verschiedenen Kasus." There seems to be no comprehensive term.

[4] The other hexameters of Vergil have not been examined.

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Multa modis multis multarum semina rerum (*D. R. N.* vi 789).
Quid faciam? roger, anne rogem? quid deinde rogabo?
(*D. R. N.* v 345).[5]

But no such complexity is to be discovered in Vergil.

The third type of complex repetition, that in which two words are each once repeated, is by far the most frequent of the complex varieties. In this the word arrangement is found to vary in three ways, as follows:

1. The two repetitions are separate and distinct, as in

A silvis silvas et ab arvis arva revulsi (*M.* viii 585).
Summa magis mediis, media imis ima perhilum (*D. R. N.* vi 576).
Componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora (*Aen.* viii 486).[6]

This is the arrangement favored by Lucretius, who has a greater number of instances of it than of all other varieties of the complex type together.

2. The words of the two repetitions alternate and are in the identical order, as in

Facta dei fecisse deo, pro lumine adempto (*M.* iii 337).
Solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas (*Aen.* x 443).[7]

Lucretius does not use this arrangement at all.

3. The words of the two repetitions are in chiastic order, as in

Serpentem spectas? et tu spectabere serpens (*M.* iii 98).
Omne genus perfusa coloribus in genere omni (*D. R. N.* ii 821).
Dis genite et geniture deos. iure omnia bella (*Aen.* ix 642).[8]

This arrangement is favored by Ovid.

Attention is called to three instances which, strictly speaking, do not come within the definition of the form of repetition under consideration, but which are interesting variations from the type. They are

Tantula quod tantum corpus corpuscula possent (*D. R. N.* iv 899).
Virgineam in puero, puerilem in virgine posses (*M.* viii 323).
Agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar (*Aen.* vii 707).

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[5] The other instances are *M.* ii 107, iii 382, *D. R. N.* v 839.

[6] The other instances are *M.* viii 484, ix 45, 731, xi 707, xii 395, *D. R. N.* i 816, 841, ii 1114, 1115, *Aen.* x 361.

[7] The other instances are *M.* i 474, 478, xi 111, xiii 97, 736, xv 663, *Aen.* vii 444.

[8] The other instances are *M.* i 141, iv 170, 610, 713, vii 219, 560, viii 860, ix 364, *D. R. N.* iv 1259, *Aen.* vii 743.

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Only one of these, the third, contains a polyptoton, and that is a simple one. But the first achieves the effect of polyptoton by the alteration of two words to their corresponding diminutives appearing in a different case form. The second secures a like effect through the use of two adjectives derived from the nouns employed in the line and appearing in other case forms than those of the nouns. The third almost defies analysis. One is tempted to examine it by syllables, or even by letters, rather than by words, to find out how it secures its effect of repetition. *Agens* does not repeat *agmen,* but it is so close to it in the sound of its letters and syllables that it seems to do so; the same is true of *magni* and *agminis;* and *magni* seems to repeat with an inversion of syllables not only *agmen* but also *agens.*

A comparison of the examples with respect to the parts of speech [9] employed by the respective poets reveals interesting differences, although there is no indication that any important meaning is to be attached to these differences. Ovid employs nouns with about the same frequency as he does verbs, but in Lucretius the use of nouns is about three times as frequent as that of verbs, and in Vergil twice as frequent. Ovid makes little use of the adjective: the number of instances in the *Metamorphoses* is but 11 per cent. of the total, while that in the *Aeneid* is 23 per cent. and that in the *De Rerum Natura* is 38 per cent. In the *Metamorphoses* there are 154 occurrences of the noun, 156 of the verb, and 40 of the adjective. In the *De Rerum Natura* there are 88 occurrences of the noun, 30 of the verb, and 72 of the adjective. In the *Aeneid* there are 65 occurrences of the noun, 30 of the verb, and 29 of the adjective.

Of more importance than this distribution among the three parts of speech, because it exhibits the quality of variety in the poet, is the range of vocabulary employed in the repetitions. Here, Vergil excels, if the matter is reduced to percentages. But the comparative infrequency of the figure in the *Aeneid* is to be borne in mind, and the seemingly accidental use which was pointed out above. Considered absolutely Ovid's vocabulary is much more extensive than that of either of the other poets. It consists in his

[9] The parts of speech have been classified without regard to context: i. e., every adjective, even in case of substantive use, is listed as an adjective; every participle, though used adjectively is listed as a verb.

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case of 226 different words, while the vocabulary of Vergil numbers only 83 and that of Lucretius only 88. Again, it is in adjectives that Ovid's vocabulary is widest, while it is in verbs that that of Lucretius and that of Vergil are most extensive. In only one instance does Vergil employ a verb which he has already used in a previous repetition. Ovid's vocabulary of nouns comprises 99 words, while the number of instances in which he uses nouns is 142. In Lucretius the proportion is 39 to 88, and in Vergil 44 to 65. In verbs the proportion in Ovid is 99 to 151, in Lucretius 20 to 30, and in Vergil 29 to 30. In adjectives the proportion in Ovid is 28 to 36, in Lucretius 24 to 71, and in Vergil 15 to 29.

One discovers a distinct hint of the subject-matter dealt with by each poet in the character of the words made to yield to the rhetorical device. *Deus* and *vulnus,* the nouns favored by Ovid, inevitably call up the mythological wonders of the *Metamorphoses;* the glitter of royalty and of war are in Vergil's *aurum, rex, vir;* and the very theme of Lucretius' philosophy stands revealed in *res, terra,* and *corpus.*

The question of the arrangement of the words in the complex repetitions has already been discussed in connection with the inquiry into the frequency with which such repetitions are used by the several poets. The position of the words in a repetition, however, is of much more importance in the simple form than in the complex, since the latter admits of greater variety and is not under the same severe restrictions of space as the complex. The main function of polyptoton, as of all other forms of repetition, is emphasis of one sort or another, and the force of the emphasis attained necessarily depends almost exclusively on the strength or the weakness of the positions chosen for the component members.

The subject of position may be treated from two standpoints, that of the placing of the two words with respect to each other, and that of the placing of the two words with respect to the construction of the line.

All simple repetitions when viewed from the former standpoint resolve themselves into two classes, that in which the words stand in juxtaposition, and that in which they are not in juxtaposition. With Ovid, Lucretius, and Vergil alike the former is not nearly so common as the latter. Lucretius makes more frequent use of juxtaposition than does either Ovid or Vergil. Of the 174 in-

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stances of simple repetition in the *De Rerum Natura* 59, or 34 per cent., are in juxtaposition; of the 305 instances in the *Metamorphoses* 87, or 28 per cent., are in juxtaposition; of the 112 instances in the *Aeneid* 25, or 22 per cent., are in juxtaposition.[10]

Examples of juxtaposition are:

> Pectora pectoribus, cum tento concito nervo (*M.* vi 243).
> Consequitur motis velociter ignibus ignes (*M.* iv 509).
> Alteriusque animantem animantis vivere leto (*M.* xv 90).
> Visceribus viscus gigni sanguenque creari (*D. R. N.* i 837).
> Idque vel in primis cumulabat funere funus (*D. R. N.* vi 1238).
> Quaecumque ab rebus rerum simulacra recedunt (*D. R. N.* iv 130).
> Imprecor arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque (*Aen.* iv 629).
> Tela Latinorum, septenosque oribus orbis (*Aen.* viii 448).
> Messapus regem regisque insigne gerentem (*Aen.* xii 289).

These examples are typical and illustrate the three prevailing positions of the repetition as a whole. These are: (1) entirely within the first half-line before the main caesura; (3) entirely within the second half-line after the main caesura; and (3) forming the inner extremities of both half-lines with the main caesura falling between them. In agreement with what Professor Howe found to be true of the elegy, in the *Metamorphoses* also the third of these arrangements is the one favored by Ovid, and the one used least frequently by him is that within the first half-line. On the other hand, the position favored by both Lucretius and Vergil is that within the second half-line, and both poets, like Ovid, make least frequent use of the position within the first half-line.

The classification of repetitions with regard to the positions of the words in the line, irrespective of their positions in relation to each other, yields three groups as follows:

A. Both members of the repetition are within the first half-line.

B. Both members are within the second half-line.

C. The first member is in the first half-line, the second in the second half-line.

As would be expected, the third group, inasmuch as it includes the greatest number of positions possible for word arrangement, is the one favored. In agreement, too, with what would be expected

[10] A complete list of the examples of juxtaposition may be found in the footnotes on pages 312 and 314.

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on the same general principle, it is found that a greater number of repetitions fall within the second half-line than within the first. The figures are as follows: of the 305 simple repetitions in the *Metamorphoses* 42 fall in group A, 60 in group B, and 203 in group C; of the 174 in the *De Rerum Natura* 35 fall in group A, 61 in group B, and 88 in group C; of the 112 in the *Aeneid* 16 fall in group A, 29 in group B, and 67 in group C.

Repetitions in group A may be subdivided into two classes:

A1. The words are in juxtaposition in the first half-line, as

Ille fugit fugiensque manus complexibus aufer (*M.* iii 390).[11]

A2. The words are in the first half-line and not in juxtaposition as

Regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque (*Aen.* x 149).[12]

In the *Metamorphoses* A1 has 23 instances and A2 19 instances; in the *De Rerum Natura* A2 is the larger class, the figures being 18 and 7; and in the *Aeneid* the number is the same for both, 8.

As in group A, so the repetitions in group B may be subdivided into two classes:

B1. The words are in the second half-line and in juxtaposition, as

Id quod Anaxagoras sibi sumit ut omnibus omnis (*D. R. N.* i 876).[13]

B2. The words are in the second half-line and not in juxtaposition, as

[11] The other examples are *M.* i 142, iii 134, 426, iv 89, 598, v. 511, 652, 673, vi 234, 243, 469, vii 447, 649, viii 471, 539, 832, ix 44, 167, xi 560, xiii 967, xiv 404, xv 502. *D. R. N.* i 359, 837, ii 823, iii 233, 364, iv 723, 1222. *Aen.* iii 98, iv 628, 629, viii 239, x 751, xi 140, 615, xii 828.

[12] The other examples are *M.* i 597, iv 470, vii 183, 468, 650, viii 150, 796, 805, x 86, 648, xi 435, xiii 232, xiv 379, 498, 770, 785, xv 347, 664, 790. *D. R. N.* i 304, 341, 636, 706, 885, ii 660, iii 275, iv 128, 521, 725, 861, v 792, 796, 854, 993, vi 265, 508, 1079. *Aen.* i 325, 396, iii 383, vi 327, 454, 553, vii 212.

[13] The other examples are *M.* i 720, ii 313, 579, iv 509, v 94, 300, vi 302, 441, vii 589, viii 350, 430, 483, 724, ix 407, 525, 549, 725, x 293, xi 109, 660, xii 213, 621, xiii 59, 495, xiv 20, 81, xv 89, 175, 355. *D. R. N.* i 166, 172, 618, 689, 735, 894, 984, ii 255, 273, 300, 337, 340, 636, 694, 724, 817, 915, 930, 940, 1112, iii 71, 397, 622, iv 189, 225, 418, 543, 565, 578, 708, 1111, 1247, v 233, 283, 435, 732, 1097, vi 45, 225, 931, 1238. *Aen.* i 684, ii 750, v 584, vi 765, viii 448, x 705, 734, 753, xi 124, 632, 750, xii 748.

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Et feci et video, valuit mea dextra valetque (*M.* xii 114).[14]

In the *Metamorphoses* B1 and B2 have an equal number of instances (30); in the *De Rerum Natura* B1 is the larger class (42 and 19); in the *Aeneid* B2 is the larger (17 and 12). Just as group B is larger than group A, so with all three poets each of the subdivisions of B contains a greater number of instances than either subdivision of A.

The matter of classifying the repetitions in group C according to line position presented at first a somewhat perplexing problem. Since the word and the foot are not always coterminous, the plan of designating the position of the word by means of the number of the foot was abandoned as a source of much possible confusion. The method which has seemed the most expedient is that of fixing as loci the beginning of the half-line, the end of the half-line, and the part between the extremities of the half-line. Since each of the two members may occupy any of these three positions in the half-line, there are nine positions possible to the repetition as a whole. To these reference is made by the letter C and the numbers from one to nine.

C1. One member stands at the beginning of the first half-line, the other at the beginning of the second, as

Rex ibi Lyncus erat. regis subit ille penates (*M.* v 650).[15]

Ovid has 19 instances, Lucretius 10, and Vergil 11.

C2. One member stands at the end of the first half-line, the other at the end of the second, as

Conciliumque vocat: tenuit mora nulla vocatos (*M.* i 167).[16]

Ovid has 20 instances, Lucretius 6, and Vergil 1.

[14] The other examples are *M.* i 20, 144, ii 781, iii 360, 425, v 185, 601, vi 579, vii 860, viii 271, 421, 436, 825, x 58, xi 345, 488, xii 276, 407, 493, xiii 170, 223, 557, 607, 705, xiv 412, xv 143, 181. *D. R. N.* i 649, 686, 814, 1117, ii 293, 603, 731, 1151, iii 206, 753, iv 1156, 1193, 1220, v 279, 1115, 1202, vi 676, 963, 1245. *Aen.* i 341, 408, ii 136, 160, iv 18, v 231, 698, vi 617, viii 164, 441, x 43, 600, xi 294, 442, 695, xii 699, 754.

[15] The other examples are *M.* i 402, iii 353, 355, 507, 640, v 439, vi 196, vii 168, ix 355, 430, x 252, xi 494, xii 342, xiii 822, 853, xiv 153, 251, 366. *D. R. N.* i 113, 228, 691, 824, 877, 986, ii 116, 689, iv 487, 654. *Aen.* i 503, iii 310, 392, 540, iv 437, v 281, vii 236, xi 171, 818.

[16] The other examples are *M.* i 353, 556, 619, 700, ii 7, 678, iv 317, vi 33,

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C3. One member stands at the beginning of the first half-line, the other at the end of the second, as

> **Pulsus ego? aut quisquam merito, foedissime, pulsum (*Aen.* xi 392).**[17]

Ovid has 14 instances, Lucretius 2, and Vergil 3.

C4. One member stands at the end of the first-line, the other at the beginning of the second, as

> **Nam tibi, saevorum saevissime Centaurorum (*M.* xii 219).**[18]

C5. The first member stands at the beginning of the first half-line, the other within the extremities of the second, as

> **Ignotis errare locis, ignota videre (*M.* iv 294).**[19]

Ovid has 12 instances, Lucretius 8, and Vergil 14.

C6. The first member stands within the extremities of the first half-line, the other at the beginning of the second, as

> **Verba patris porto; pater est mihi Juppiter ipse (*M.* ii 744).**[20]

Ovid has 22 instances, Lucretius 13, and Vergil 3.

C7. The first member stands within the extremities of the first half-line, the other at the end of the second, as

> **Sed ferro, sed siquid habes, quod vincere ferrum (*M.* vi 612).**[21]

Ovid has 19 instances, Lucretius 4, and Vergil 5.

348, viii 851, x 614, xi 288, 318, xii 340, xiii 374, 389, 672, xiv 509, xv 496. *D. R. N.* i 61, 813, ii 123, 305, iv 49, 941. *Aen.* iv 138.

[17] The other examples are *M.* i 576, ii 429, 494, iii 158, 588, iv 643, v 311, 586, vii 736, 753, xi 183, 609, xii 557, xiv 621. *D. R. N.* i 710, iv 542. *Aen.* i 80, ii 314.

[18] The other examples are *M.* i 33, 642, iii 60, iv 64, 153, 261, 316, v 162, vi 13, 598, 656, vii 691, 823, viii 474, ix 250, 609, 793, xi 243, 308, 599, xii 312, 391, 443, 483, xiii 189, 922, 943, 966, xiv 301, 305, 686, xv 90, 541. *D. R. N.* i 741, 838, 868, ii 708, 932, 1166, iii 888, 1015, iv 130, v 361. *Aen.* ii 663, iv 83, v 429, vii 138, xii 289.

[19] The other examples are *M.* i 636, v 204, vii 55, 607, 658, viii 459, x 61, xiii 385, 636, xiv 337, xv 182. *D. R. N.* i 985, ii 715, 1099, iii 379, v 94, 152, 425, vi 610. *Aen.* i 599, ii 292, iv 3, v 80, vi 166, 624, vii 555, 707, ix 439, x 202, 429, xi 191, 774, xii 429.

[20] The other examples are *M.* i 515, iii 417, vi 570, viii 59, 283, 328, ix 221, 470, 619, x 357, xi 297, 782, xii 458, 535, xiii 364, 847, 874, xiv 255, 499, 516, xv 384. *D. R. N.* i 815, 1024, ii 635, 824, iv 301, 475, v 187, 422. *Aen.* vii 39, 252, 295.

[21] The other examples are *M.* i 292, 393, 412, ii 541, 647, 780, iii 405, iv 61,

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C8. The first member stands at the end of the first half-line, the other within the extremities of the second, as

Nam caelo terras, et terris abscidit undas (*M.* i 22).[22]

Ovid has 38 instances, Lucretius 24, and Vergil 17.

C9. The first member stands within the extremities of the first half-line, the other within the extremities of the second, as

Nec scit qua sit iter, nec, si sciat, imperet illis (*M.* ii 170).[23]

Ovid has 25 instances, Lucretius 11, and Vergil 8.

From these figures it is clear that the favored position in group C for Ovid, Lucretius, and Vergil alike is that in which the first member of the repetition is the last word of the first half-line and the second member stands within the two extremities of the second half-line. This result agrees with what Professor Howe found to be true for the hexameter lines of Ovid's elegy. Furthermore, a comparison of group C with groups A and B shows that for Ovid and Vergil this particular class contains a larger number of instances than does either subdivision of group A or group B. Lucretius favors the juxtaposition in the second half-line, but with this one exception his usage is the same as that of the others. This arrangement, therefore, may be said to be characteristic of the hexameter line, whether in heroic or in elegiac verse.

This is further borne out by the fact that the arrangement in group C which in frequency of use stands next to the favored one varies with the three poets. With Ovid it is the juxtaposition at the inner extremities of the half-lines (C4), and this class has more instances than any class in A or B. With Lucretius, on the

vi 76, 154, vii 28, 733, viii 513, 704, ix 518, 554, xi 84, xv 637. *D. R. N.* i 200, iv 64, 466, 1246. *Aen.* ii 354, 728, vi 736, vii 279, xi 644.

[22] The other examples are *M.* i 311, ii 11, 56, 322, 384, 754, iii 436, 458, 523, 691, iv 227, v 166, vi 3, 349, vii 187, 724, 750, 858, viii 95, 187, 288, 602, ix 583, 631, 681, 782, x 303, 332, xi 410, 774, xii 548, xiii 12, 40, 911, 935, xiv 568, xv 243. *D. R. N.* i 693, 788, 896, ii 235, 350, 791, 902, iii 842, iv 302, 308, 314, 719, 1174, v 153, 336, 644, 737, 1190, 1351, vi 145, 355, 769, 775, 1078. *Aen.* i 239, 621, 657, iii 500, v 569, vi 204, 380, viii 692, ix 617, x 810, 839, 842, xi 293, 869, 886, xii 640, 936.

[23] The other examples are *M.* ii 345, iii 415, 430, 468, 471, 509, iv 159, 211, 752, v 55, vii 18, x 100, 148, 328, 698, xi 244, xii 295, 500, 567, xiii 158, 299, 564, xiv 123, 505. *D. R. N.* i 266, 544, ii 578, 986, iv 470, 518, 1040, 1210, vi 500, 538, 652. *Aen.* iii 251, 606, v 324, 422, vi 133, 776, x 338, xii 78.

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other hand, C6 is second in favor, and this is less frequent than B1, or B2, or A2. Again, class C5 is second in favor with Vergil, and this is less frequent than B2.

The following tables gather together the figures cited in the foregoing pages, and will serve to make clear at a glance the differences in the practice of the three poets under consideration:

I. Occurrence

	Ovid	Lucretius	Vergil
Total number of lines..	11,996	7,415	9,896
Number of instances:			
Simple	305	174	112
Complex	28	10	6
Total	333	184	118
Frequency, 1 in 36 lines	1 in 40 lines	1 in 84 lines	

II. Parts of Speech (simple and complex)

	Ovid	Lucretius	Vergil
Nouns	154	88	65
Verbs	156	30	30
Adjectives	40	72	69

III. Relative position (simple)

	Ovid	Lucretius	Vergil
Juxtaposition	87	59	25
Non-juxtaposition	218	115	87
	305	174	112

IV. Position in the Line (simple)

	Ovid	Lucretius	Vergil
A1	23	7	8
A2	19	18	8
	42	25	16

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B1	30	42	12
B2	30	19	17
	60	61	29
C1	19	10	11
C2	20	6	1
C3	14	2	3
C4	34	10	5
C5	12	8	14
C6	22	13	3
C7	19	4	5
C8	38	24	17
C9	25	11	8
	203	88	67

The conclusions to be derived from the foregoing examination are in the main but confirmation of the general impressions arrived at from casual reading of the poets in question. It was to be expected, for example, that the frequency of occurrence of any effective form of repetition, as indeed of any effective device of rhetoric, would be greater in Ovid's verse than in that of other Latin poets with whom he might reasonably be compared. It was also to be expected that when Ovid had found such good use for a particular figure in one form of verse he would readily adapt it to a closely allied form. It is not therefore less interesting, however, nor less worth while, to learn through actual examination in detail just in what ways and to what extent his superior skill manifested itself. Whether the skill be measured in terms of variety and complexity, of ease and apparent naturalness, of the extent of application, of the facility with which obstacles of meter and word-position are met, Ovid is easily the master in the handling of such material.

As to the details of the practice of the several poets, there is perfect agreement in one respect only, that is, on what constitutes the most effective position in the hexameter line for the two members of a polyptoton. It was the common experience of Lucretius, Vergil, and Ovid that the emphasis sought was best achieved by

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placing the first member at the end of the first half-line and the second member between the extremities of the other. That Ovid, who experimented so much more extensively than did the others, found no better arrangement is evidence that, in spite of the possibility, which he proves, of great variety of treatment, there is nevertheless a controlling principle in the rhythm of the line itself which he must obey as well as the others.

Classical Seminar, University of North Carolina.

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POLYPTOTON IN TIBULLUS AND PROPERTIUS

By George Howe

In order to carry still further Miss Breazeale's comparison of Ovid with his immediate predecessors in respect of the interesting form of repetition known as polyptoton, it has seemed worth while to examine the elegy of the Corpus Tibullianum and of Propertius.

The results of such examination are surprisingly negative. If pronouns, forms of the verb *esse*, and changes of inflection involving different roots be left out of the reckoning, as was done in the previous studies, the occurrence of the figure is extremely rare. Polyptoton is to be found indeed in the work of each of these poets, but so infrequently that it seems, as Miss Breazeale remarked of Vergil, almost accidental. Tibullus has only fourteen instances all told in the 1376 lines of his elegy,[1] and only once does he make use of a complex variety.[2] To Lygdamus the device is almost unknown: there is but a single instance of it in the 290 lines of his poetry.[3] The same is true of the forty lines by Sulpicia.[4] Propertius employs it with even less frequency than Tibullus, but he exhibits more variety and skill in handling it. There are thirty-six instances in the 4024 lines,[5] and eleven of these are of a complex variety.[6]

These instances taken together offer too little material from which to make deductions of any value. The various possible positions of the component members of a repetition are illustrated so evenly that no favored arrangement is discoverable. That there is greater variety in Propertius than in Tibullus may be accounted

[1] i, 4, 63; 8, 26; 9, 15; 9, 80; 10, 28; ii, 1, 37; 4, 11; 5, 117; 6, 7; 6, 9; 6, 11; iv, 2, 10; 3, 20; 6, 17.

[2] ii, 6, 11.

[3] iii, 2, 1.

[4] iv, 7, 10.

[5] i, 8, 31; 8, 37; ii, 1, 48; 7, 19; 8, 6; 8, 8; 9, 52; 12, 13; 15, 50; 18, 3; 18, 4; 19, 7; 20, 27; 28, 7; 28, 42; 32, 1; 32, 56; iii, 3, 3; 5, 1; 5, 12; 6, 15; 15, 37; 20, 13; 25, 7; iv, 1, 35; 1, 73; 2, 3; 2, 64; 4, 35; 4, 82; 6, 1; 6, 13; 7, 92; 7, 94; 8, 81; 9, 4.

[6] i, 8, 37; ii, 7, 19; 8, 6; 20, 27; 28, 7; 28, 42; 32, 1; 32, 56; iii, 3, 3; 20, 13; iv, 2, 64.

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for by the fact that there is a greater number of instances in Propertius. On the other hand, Propertius seems to have something of Ovid's understanding of the effectiveness of the device, as is revealed in the ease with which he uses it. Such double repetitions as the following, for example:

> **Tu mihi sola places: placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus (ii, 7, 19).**
> **Vivam, si vivet; si cadet illa, cadam (ii, 28, 42).**
> **Nox mihi prima venit: primae date tempora noctis (iii, 20, 13).**

have all the skill of balance and of word position so richly illustrated in Ovid.

The University of North Carolina.

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4. I.

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